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ABSTRACT

In this curriculum module students analyze both U.S. and Japanese perspectives of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The activities integrate Howard Gardner's work on multiple intelligences. The module is recommended as a supplement to textbook coverage of the war in the Pacific and of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. It can be used to support both state and national history standards. In the first activity students examine U.S. textbook coverage of the atomic bombing. Thirteen small group and whole class activities follow. Small group activities include "Rewriting a Chapter from an English Language Textbook for Japanese Ninth Graders," "Literary Perspectives," "Medical Perspectives," "American Atomic Bomb Survivors," "Non-Japanese Victims' Perspectives," "Comics," "Hiroshima Poetry," and "Stamps." Whole class activities analyze the legacies of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and address the following topics: radiation effects on survivors and their descendants, financial compensation, medical treatment, survivors' drawings, and Smithsonian controversy. Handouts and primary sources accompany each activity. Contains a bibliography, a glossary, and 46 slides. (BT)

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HIROSHIMA

Perspectives

on the

Atomic

Bombing



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HIROSHIMA

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ATOMIC BOMBING

Developed by Amy Cheng
with contributions from Tiffany Hood,
Shehime Arshad, Tali Golan, Jen Hutchinson, Carrie Jeffries, June Ubukata, and Patrick Williams

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Professor Barton Bernstein, History Department, Stanford University, served as the primary faculty advisor for this curriculum module. Professor Bernstein is widely recognized as a major authority on this subject and his expertise guided the development of the module.

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Module Introduction

HIROSHIMA

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ATOMIC BOMBING

Rationale and Introduction

In February 1999, a survey was released by Newseum, an Arlington, Virginia-based interactive news museum, which showed that U.S. journalists and historians ranked the U.S. atomic bombing of Japan in 1945 as the most significant news event of the century. In December 1999, a public survey (36,151 votes were recorded) was released by Newseum and *USA Weekend* magazine showing that Americans agreed that the U.S. atomic bombing of Japan in 1945 was the "Story of the Century."¹

In Japan, the anniversaries of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima (August 6th) and Nagasaki (August 9th) draw national attention and thousands attend special annual commemorative ceremonies. The anniversaries are covered every year in national and local newspapers as well as on television news channels.

Since the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many people have debated whether it was "right" or "wrong," "justified" or "unjustified," "necessary" or "unnecessary." However, few people would deny the significance of the events.

This module seeks to have students analyze both U.S. and Japanese perspectives of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Students are asked to draw evidence from activities that introduce these multiple perspectives in order to analyze the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan within its historical context.

This module is recommended as a supplement to textbook coverage of the war in the Pacific and of specifically the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

History Standards

Many states recommend the teaching of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima at the secondary level. The *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*, for example, includes the following at the 11th grade level:

The controversy over President Harry S. Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan should be analyzed fully, considering both his rationale and differing historical judgments. (p. 97)

The *National Standards for United States History* also recommends the following:

Students should be able to demonstrate understanding of World War II

¹"Americans Vote on Top News Events of the 20th Century," *San Jose Mercury News*, (December 21, 1999), p. 2A.

and how the Allies prevailed by analyzing President Truman's decision to employ nuclear weapons against Japan and evaluating the moral and political implications of that decision. (p. 201)

This curriculum module can be used to support both state and national standards.

Multiple Intelligences

The activities in this module integrate Howard Gardner's work on the multiple intelligences. Howard Gardner, Professor of Education at Harvard University, argues that humans possess varying amounts of seven intelligences, which they combine and use in highly personal ways that are influenced by culture. In his book *Frames of Mind*, Gardner presented a theory of multiple intelligences, which reinforces his cross-cultural perspective of human cognition. A brief description of Gardner's intelligences follows:²

Verbal-Linguistic Intelligence

Verbal-linguistic intelligence consists of the ability to think in words and to use language to express and appreciate complex meanings. Authors, poets, journalists, speakers, and newscasters exhibit high degrees of verbal-linguistic intelligence.

Logical-Mathematical Intelligence

Logical-mathematical intelligence makes it possible to calculate, quantify, consider propositions and hypotheses, and carry out complex mathematical operations. Scientists, mathematicians, accountants, engineers, and computer programmers all demonstrate strong logical-mathematical intelligence.

Spatial Intelligence

Spatial intelligence instills the capacity to think in three-dimensional ways as do sailors, pilots, sculptors, painters, and architects. It enables one to perceive external and internal imagery, to recreate, transform, or modify images, to navigate oneself and objects through space, and to produce or decode graphic information.

Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence

Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence enables one to manipulate objects and fine-tune physical skills. It is evident in athletes, dancers, surgeons, and craftspeople.

Musical Intelligence

Musical intelligence is evident in individuals who possess a sensitivity to pitch, melody, rhythm, and tone. Those demonstrating this intelligence include composers, conductors, musicians, critics, and

² Linda Campbell et al., *Teaching & Learning Through Multiple Intelligences*. (Needham Heights, MA.: Allyn & Bacon, 1996), p. xvi. Since the publication of this book, Gardner has added an eighth intelligence—namely, a “naturalist” intelligence.

instrument makers, as well as sensitive listeners.

Interpersonal Intelligence

Interpersonal intelligence is the capacity to understand and interact effectively with others.

Intrapersonal Intelligence

Intrapersonal intelligence refers to the ability to construct an accurate perception of oneself and to use such knowledge in planning and directing one's life.

**Summary of
Activities**

This curriculum module first engages students in an activity that has students examine U.S. textbook coverage of the atomic bombing; this activity is followed by a class analysis of polls conducted in the United States and Japan regarding the atomic bombing. Eight small-group activities can then be utilized with the class. Teachers may choose to engage students in one or more of these activities. Whole-class activities are offered as well and focus on legacies of the atomic bombing. The following is a brief summary of the small-group and the whole-class activities contained in this module.

Activity #1

Students read, compare, and contrast U.S. and Japanese textbook coverage of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Activity #2

Students read and discuss literary perspectives on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Activity #3

Students compare and contrast a Japanese physician's and a U.S. physician's perspectives. Excerpts from their diaries and memoirs, which they kept following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, are utilized.

Activity #4

Students examine perspectives from American survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Activity #5

Students learn about non-Japanese victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Korean perspectives are presented.

Activity #6

Students examine and discuss excerpts from Japanese and U.S. comic books that focus on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

module introduction

Activity #7

Students analyze U.S. and Japanese poetry on the atomic bombings.

Activity #8

Students analyze U.S. and Japanese commemorative stamps of the atomic bombings.

Whole-Class Activities

Students analyze the legacies of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima today. The focus is on the following topics:

- radiation effects on survivors and their descendants
- financial compensation issues
- medical treatment
- survivors' drawings
- Smithsonian controversy

Japanese Names

In this module, Japanese names (except where noted) are listed with last names first, followed by given names. American names are listed with first names first, followed by last names.

Module Goals

The following reflect goals for the curriculum module as a whole.

In this curriculum module, students will:

- learn about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima
- develop a basic understanding of the historical context of Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan
- become familiar with U.S. and Japanese perspectives on the atomic bombing
- analyze the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan
- learn to think critically and make informed opinions
- evaluate different opinions and generate alternative perspectives on an issue
- learn tools to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups
- organize and express opinions

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each activity. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only.

Time

Hiroshima: Perspectives on the Atomic Bombing is divided into an introductory activity, eight small-group activities, and whole-class activities. We recommend one to two class periods for each activity. Some

Small-Group Roles

teachers may choose to rotate small groups of students through two or more of the small-group activities.

Hiroshima: Perspectives on the Atomic Bombing engages students in many small-group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for individual students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator:** responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder:** responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper:** responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager:** responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer:** responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion and that everyone is participating
- **Reporter:** responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Subjects

This curriculum module is recommended for use in social studies, world history, global/international studies, U.S. history, and contemporary issues classes.

Equipment

Overhead projector, slide projector

Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the module:



Small-Group
Activity



Transparency



Homework

Introductory Activity

THE ATOMIC BOMB AND JAPAN

ANALYZING U.S. TEXTBOOKS

Organizing Questions

- How do U.S. textbooks cover the use of the atomic bomb on Japan?
- What are some public opinions regarding the use of the atomic bomb on Japan?

Introduction

In this introductory activity, students are presented with the task of analyzing U.S. textbook coverage of the use of the atomic bomb on Japan. An academic perspective on the atomic bombing of Japan is included as well for student analysis. In addition, students examine polls that reflect public opinion of the atomic bombing. This activity is designed to set the context for the eight small-group activities contained in this curriculum module.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about U.S. textbook coverage of the atomic bombing of Japan
- to learn about changes in public opinion regarding the use of the atomic bomb

attitude

- to appreciate the diversity of perspectives on the atomic bombing
- to appreciate the difficulty with presenting controversial topics evenhandedly

skill

- to work effectively in small groups
- to critically read textbooks

Materials

- World Map, overhead transparency
- Map of Asia and the Pacific, overhead transparency
- Map of Japan, one copy per student
- Polls, one copy per four students
- Textbook Excerpts, The Atomic Bomb and Japan, one copy per four students
- Article, "The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered," one copy per four students
- Truman Documents, one copy per four students

introductory activity

- Procedure
1. Introduce this curriculum module by informing students that they will be learning about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. This introductory activity sets the context for the eight small-group activities contained in this module.

Ask students what they have learned about the atomic bombing of Japan during World War II from their history textbooks or from other sources. Ask students for U.S. and Japanese perspectives on the atomic bombing with which they are familiar. Many history textbooks list perspectives from President Truman, *Enola Gay* pilots, and Japanese witnesses of the atomic bombing.



2. Utilizing the overhead transparencies, *World Map* and *Map of Asia and the Pacific*, have students locate Japan.

In this introductory activity, students will be analyzing U.S. textbook coverage of the use of the atomic bomb on Japan. It will also provide students with a historical context for studying perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan during World War II.



3. Divide the class into small groups of four students each, and distribute a copy of the Textbook Excerpts, *The Atomic Bomb and Japan*, and the *Map of Japan*. The map of Japan lists most of the cities referenced in this module. In this introductory activity, students are instructed to consider responses to the questions raised at the beginning of the textbook excerpt. Have each student write a summary of the group responses for one of the assigned questions. Each group should also select a reporter to provide a five-minute summary of the group's discussion for the entire class.



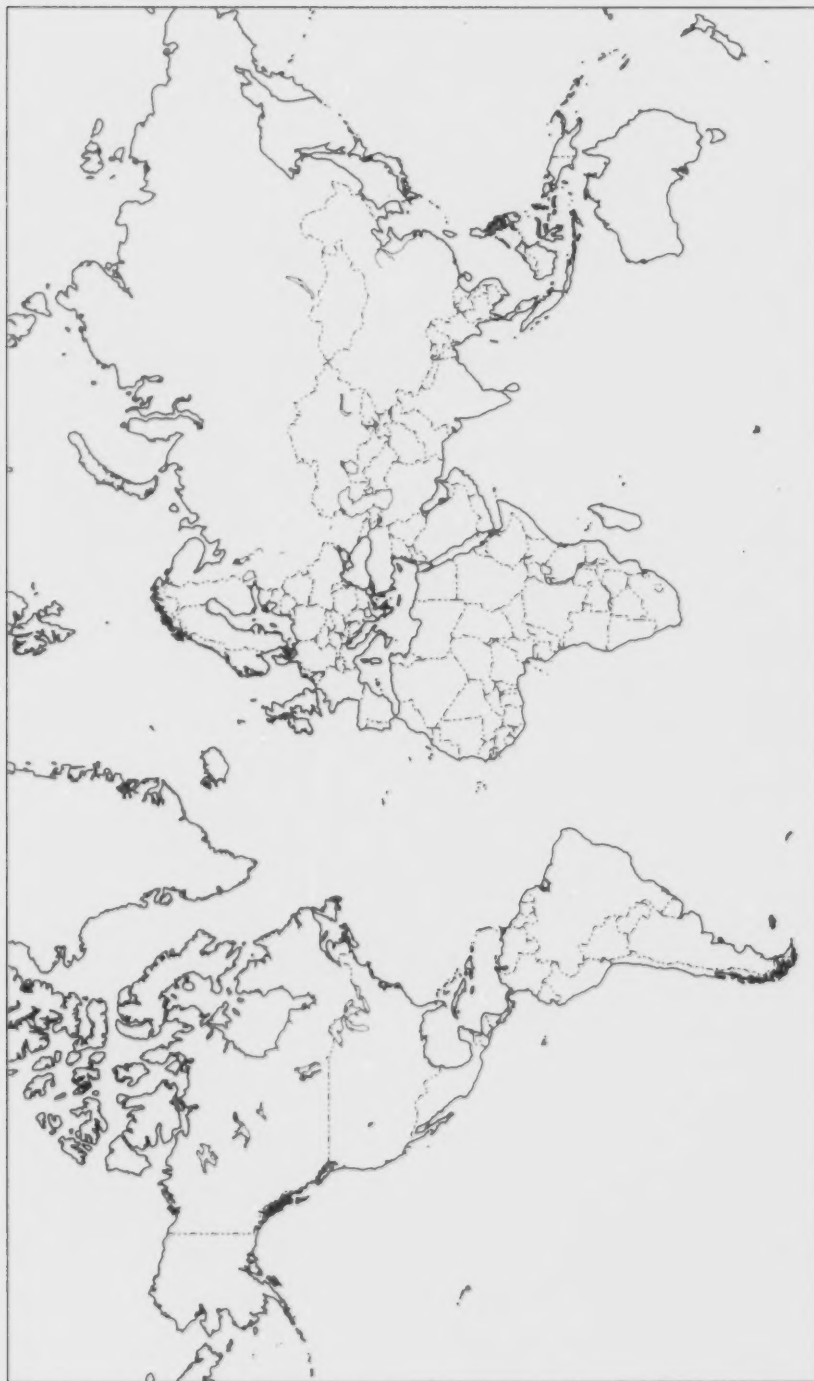
4. Have student reporters share five-minute summaries of their responses to the questions. Have students discuss similarities and differences among the groups' summaries.
5. Point out to students that secondary textbook coverage of the atomic bombing of Japan is usually quite limited in the perspectives presented. In 1995, Barton J. Bernstein, Professor of History at Stanford University, a major authority on the topic, published an article, "The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered," on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombings. Distribute copies of this article as well as copies of the Truman documents to the same groups of four students as a homework assignment. Students should answer the questions that appear at the beginning of the article. These questions focus on key points covered in Professor Bernstein's article and are important ones for students to know.
6. During a follow-up class period, debrief the homework questions by having small groups share their responses to questions and soliciting feedback from the other groups.
7. Following this discussion, point out that since the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many people have debated whether it was "right" or "wrong," "justified" or "unjustified,"

introductory activity

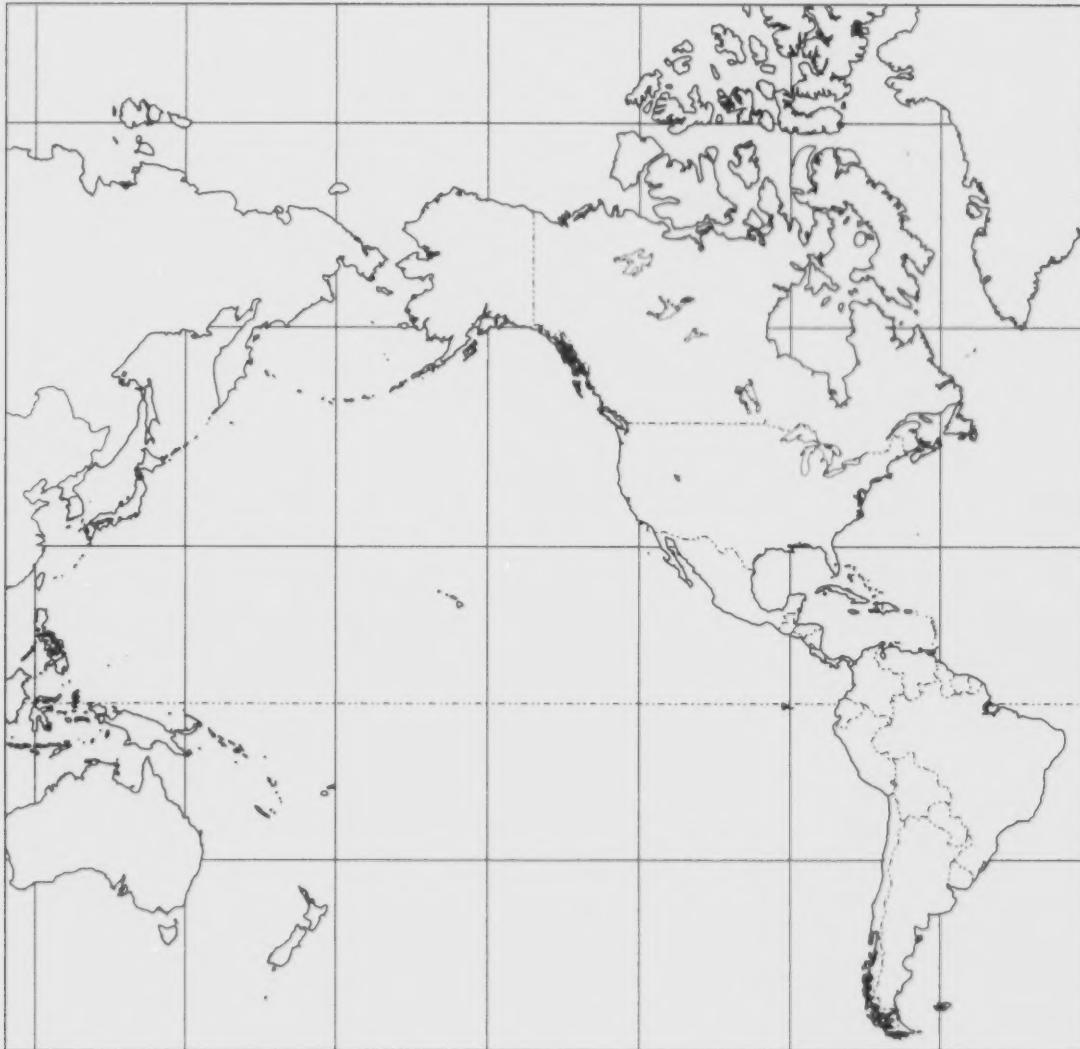
"necessary" or "unnecessary." However, few people would deny the significance of the events. An effective way to evaluate the general consensus on a particular historical event is to study polls that were conducted right after the event and in subsequent years. Distribute copies of the polls to the same groups of students and have them answer the questions.

8. Point out to students that the eight small-group activities contained in the next lesson seek to have students analyze various perspectives on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Students are asked to draw evidence from activities that introduce these perspectives in order to analyze the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan within its historical context. Inform students that following their participation in these small-group activities, they will be asked the same questions that were utilized in the U.S. polls.

WORLD MAP



MAP OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC



MAP OF JAPAN



POLLS

An effective way to evaluate the general consensus on a particular historical event is to study polls that were conducted right after the event and in subsequent years. The information gathered may be especially useful in explaining changes in public opinion over a period of time. On the next few pages are some bar graphs and tables that illustrate the opinions of Americans and Japanese about the atomic bomb.

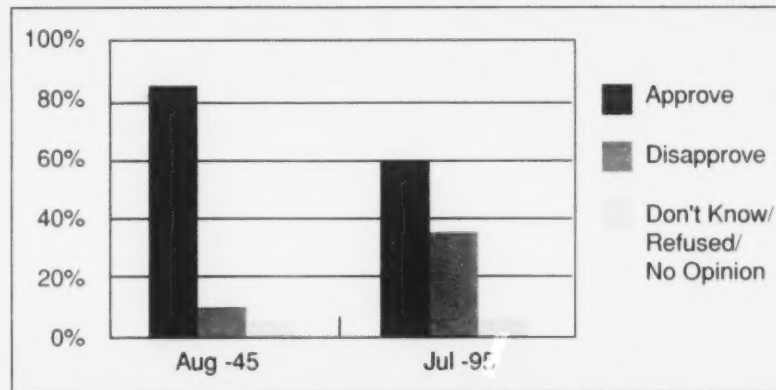
As a group, study Graphs 1–3, American opinions about the atomic bomb, and answer the following questions. Be prepared to discuss your answers with the rest of the class.

1. How have American opinions about the atomic bomb changed over the years?
2. What factors may have influenced the changes in opinions?
3. Is there a trend developing in the way Americans view the 1945 atomic bombings? If so, what is the trend?
4. Is there a trend developing in the way Americans think about nuclear weapons? If so, what is the trend?
5. Imagine that the three poll questions are being asked to Americans in 2045, the 100th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Japan. Predict what the results might be.

Take a poll of your group, using the poll questions from the first three graphs. Share the results with the rest of the class.

Poll question asked in the U.S.: The United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, near the end of World War II. Looking back, would you say you approve or disapprove of using the atomic bomb on Japanese cities in 1945?

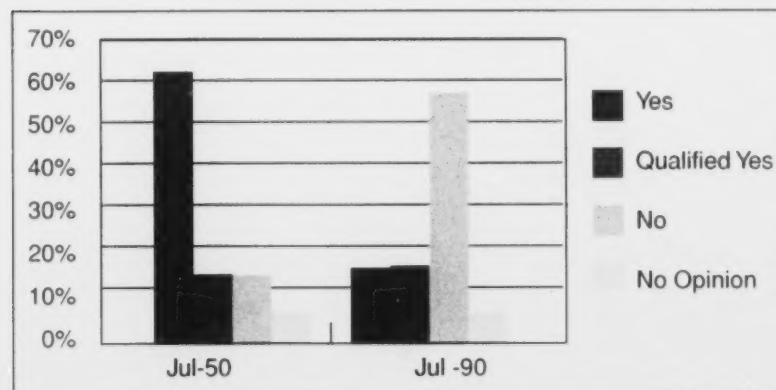
Graph 1



Source: *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, August 1990; Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Poll question asked in the U.S.: What is your opinion about our using the atomic bomb or nuclear weapons if the United States gets into another world war—do you think we should use it or not?

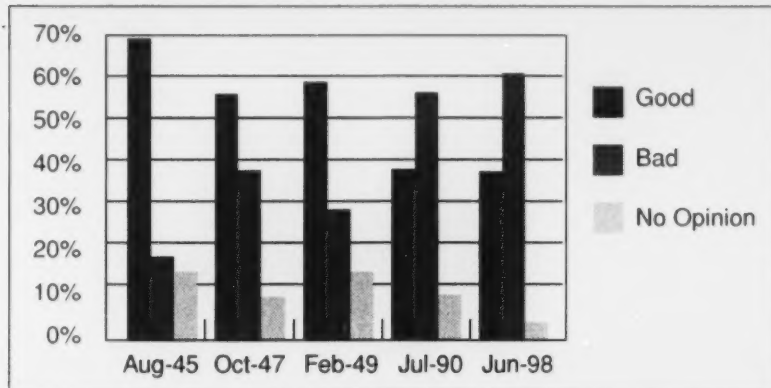
Graph 2



Source: *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, August 1990.

Poll question asked in the U.S.: Do you think it was a good thing or bad thing that the atomic bomb was developed?

Graph 3



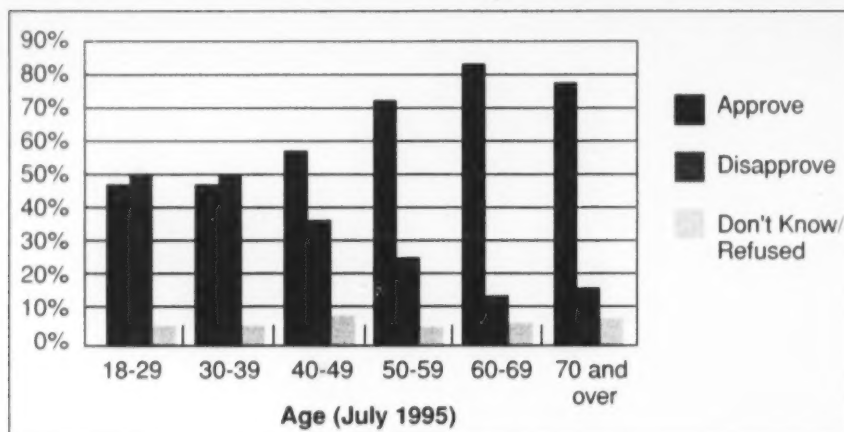
Source: *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, August 1990; Gallup Poll, June 5-7, 1998, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Now take a look at Graph 4 on the next page and answer the following questions:

1. Taking the ages of the respondents into account, how would you explain the differences in opinions?
2. Can you think of any world events that have occurred since the 1945 bombings that may have influenced these opinions?
3. Besides age, what other factors might affect people's opinions? For example, would gender be a factor? How about one's ethnicity? or education? Make a list of the factors, and consider how each might affect people's opinions.

Poll question asked in the U.S.: The United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, near the end of World War II. Looking back, would you say you approve or disapprove of using the atomic bomb on Japanese cities in 1945? (same question as Graph 1)

Graph 4



Source: *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, August 1990; Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Now study the four tables on the next two pages and answer the following questions:

1. Looking at Table 1, what might be possible reasons why most Americans feel that the United States should not make an official apology to Japan?
2. Referring to your textbook or other sources about World War II, what are some other ways that may have been used to force the Japanese to surrender? (Table 2)
3. Looking at Table 3, why do you think the majority of people consider the atomic bombings as having saved American lives?
4. Looking at Table 4, how can you explain the almost equal split in responses as to whether more Japanese lives were saved or lost?
5. Imagine that the poll questions from the four tables are being asked of Americans in 2045. Predict what the results might be.

Take a poll of your group, using the poll questions from the four tables. Share the results with the rest of the class.

Poll question taken in U.S.: Should the United States make an official apology to Japan for the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II, or should the United States not make an official apology for this?

Table 1

Responses	Percentage
Should make an official apology	20%
Should not make an official apology	73%
Mixed / Depends	2%
Don't know / Refused to answer	5%

Source: Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Poll question taken in U.S.: If the decision about dropping the atomic bomb (in World War II) had been yours to make, would you have ordered the bombs to be dropped, or would you have tried some other way to force the Japanese to surrender?

Table 2

Responses	Percentage
Would have dropped the bomb	44%
Would have tried some other way	50%
Don't know / Refused to answer	7%

Source: Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Poll question taken in U.S.: Thinking about the effect of dropping the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (in World War II), do you think dropping the atomic bombs saved American lives by shortening the war, or not?

Table 3

Responses	Percentage
Yes, saved American lives	86%
No, did not	8%
Don't know / Refused to answer	7%

Source: Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Poll question taken in U.S.: Do you think that dropping the atomic bombs saved more Japanese lives than would have been lost if the war had continued, or did dropping the bomb cost more Japanese lives?

Table 4

Responses	Percentage
Yes, saved more Japanese lives	41%
No, cost more Japanese lives	45%
Don't know / Refused to answer	15%

Source: Gallup Poll, July 20–23, 1995, courtesy of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Similar polls were conducted in Japan in the 1990s. Study the following three tables and answer the questions below.

1. The majority of Japanese respondents consider the bombings "inhumane behavior," and many still harbor some resentment against the United States for dropping the bombs. If the first poll question and its responses were presented to Americans, how different might the opinions be? What might account for the differences?
2. Looking at Tables 2 and 3, what conclusions can you draw from the poll results?
3. Why do you think the majority of Japanese respondents feel their government should admit fault for causing the war? Consider what you know about World War II and what you've just read in the textbook excerpts in your response.
4. Why do you think the Japanese respondents believe their government should financially compensate the victims (as opposed to the U.S. government)?

Poll question taken in Japan: What do you think of the United States' nuclear bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

Table 1

Responses	Percentage
Unacceptable, inhumane behavior	44%
Inhumane behavior, but I no longer resent it	17%
United States couldn't help it	22%
A matter of course because it was war time	15%
Other / No response	2%

Source: *Asahi Shimbun*, December 18–19, 1994, Japan Public Opinion Location Library.

Poll question taken in Japan: Do you still have a feeling of resentment toward the United States because of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, or not?

Table 2

Responses	Percentage
Still feel resentful	57%
Don't feel resentful	40%
Don't know / No response	3%

Source: NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, November 5-10, 1991, Japan Public Opinion Location Library.

Poll question taken in Japan: There is a plan to introduce a bill called the "Act to Support Victims of Atomic Bombs," which would admit that Japan was at fault for causing the past war. This bill will compensate victims of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. How do you feel about the introduction of this bill?

Table 3

Responses	Percentage
The Japanese government should admit that it is at fault for causing the past war, and should create the bill to compensate the victims.	64%
No need for the national government to admit that it is at fault for causing the past war, or give monetary compensation to bomb victims, although the victims should be supported more than they are now.	13%
The current amount of support for the bomb victims is fine, and there is no need to do anything extra.	14%
Other	1%
Don't know / No response	9%

Source: NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, September 24-25, 1994, Japan Public Opinion Location Library.

THE ATOMIC BOMB AND JAPAN

The following are excerpts from a U.S. high school history textbook. The excerpts cover background information on the war in the Pacific, the atomic bombing of Japan, and its aftermath. These were reprinted from King, David C., Norman McRae, and Jaye Zola, *The United States and Its People*, © 1993 by Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., by permission.

Consider the following questions about these textbook excerpts. Assign one student in your group to write a summary of the group's discussion of each of the questions.

- *What are some significant historical events that led to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima?*
- *What are some important factors that went into Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan?*
- *How are these textbook excerpts similar to or different from your textbook's coverage of the atomic bombing of Japan? Are U.S. as well as Japanese perspectives included in your textbook?*
- *What else would you like to learn about the atomic bombings?*

Victory in the Pacific

By early 1945 the Allies had won command of the sea and air in the Pacific. American submarines were sinking ships that tried to bring vital supplies to Japan, and American planes were bombing Japanese industries. Americans also began to drop incendiary bombs on cities. Igniting on impact, the bombs spread fire everywhere. Despite widespread destruction and heavy civilian casualties, the Japanese continued to resist.

In February Nimitz's forces invaded the small island of Iwo Jima, hoping to use its airfield as a bomber base. It took the Americans nearly six weeks of bitter fighting to secure the 5-mile-square island, at a cost of 20,000 casualties, with almost 7,000 dead.

The successful fight for Okinawa, the last stepping stone to Japan, was even bloodier. Desperate Japanese counterattacks caused heavy American losses. Kamikaze planes came in by the hundreds. Japan also sent its last remaining

warships—with fuel for only a one-way trip—into the battle. By the time the two-month struggle ended in late June, the Americans had suffered 50,000 casualties. More than 100,000 Japanese were killed.

In spite of Japan's staggering losses, Allied commanders worried about the risks of invading Japan itself. They suspected that the Japanese would fight to repel an invasion of their homeland with the same fury that had made the conquests of Iwo Jima and Okinawa so costly.

The atomic bomb

On July 16, 1945, Truman met Churchill and Stalin at Potsdam, Germany, to discuss plans for postwar Europe and map strategies for the final defeat of Japan. The day after he arrived, Truman received a cable from the United States that read, "Diagnosis not yet complete, but results seem satisfactory." Truman understood the message: the United States had successfully tested an atomic bomb.

Since 1939, when nuclear fission

was discovered in Germany, scientists in every major industrial nation had been aware of the possibility of producing an extremely powerful explosion by splitting the atom. Fearful that Germany would take the lead, President Roosevelt had set up the top-secret Manhattan Project in 1942 in order to develop atomic weapons.

Once the bomb was a reality, atomic scientists and Truman's advisors debated whether the United States should use such a powerful weapon. By using the bomb, the United States could end the war without invading the Japanese islands, and without the help of Stalin, whom President Truman heartily distrusted.

Truman made up his mind quickly. "I regarded the bomb as a military weapon," he wrote later, "and never had any doubt that it should be used." Both Britain, which had worked with the United States on the bomb, and the Soviet Union, which was already secretly working on its own atomic

weapons, approved Truman's decision.

On July 26 the Allied leaders issued an ultimatum to Japan to surrender before August 3 or face "prompt and utter destruction." In Japan, the government, torn between surrendering unconditionally and continuing the struggle, allowed the deadline to pass.

"A rain of ruin"

At precisely 8:25 A.M. on August 6, 1945, a B-29 bomber named the *Enola Gay* dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the site of numerous war plants and a major assembly point for convoys. Military strategists believed its destruction "would most adversely affect the will of the Japanese to continue the war."

Forty-three seconds later, a flash appeared in the air above the city and grew larger and larger. From his tail-gunner's seat, Sergeant George Caron reported the scene:

"A column of smoke rising fast. It has a fiery red core. Here it comes, the mushroom shape.... It's like a mass of bubbling molasses. It's

nearly level with us and climbing.... The city must be below that."

The heat in the fireball above the city was later calculated at 540,000 degrees Fahrenheit. At ground zero, directly below the explosion, a hospital was vaporized. Within 1,000 yards of ground zero, the surface of granite building stones melted; 2 miles away, wood buildings burst into flame.

The explosion killed between 80,000 and 100,000 people. Many survivors were so badly burned that their skin peeled off in large strips. Even people who appeared unhurt began to die—the first victims of radiation sickness. A young woman who survived wrote:

"I felt I had lost all the bones in my body.... I passed out. By the time I woke up, black rain was falling. We thought it was oil, the B-29s coming back to drop oil on us to burn us up. I couldn't see. I thought I was blind, but I got my eyes open, and I saw a beautiful sky and a dead city. Nobody is standing up. Nobody is walking around."

The black drops that were pelting people were not oil but rain polluted with deadly radioactivity.

Eventually, the number of deaths that resulted directly from the bomb was set at 140,000.

In the United States, Truman warned Japan to surrender or "expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth." Japan did not reply. On August 8 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and invaded Manchuria. Soviet troops also moved toward Korea.

Still Japan did not surrender. On August 9 the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, a shipbuilding center. The city was destroyed, and between 35,000 and 70,000 people were killed.

That night Japanese emperor Hirohito urged his cabinet to surrender on the sole condition that the Allies would allow him to remain as ruler. "The time has come," he said, "when we must bear the unbearable." The United States agreed to let the emperor keep the throne under the authority of an Allied supreme commander. The surrender of Japan became official on September 2, 1945.

THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS RECONSIDERED

The following interpretive article was written by Barton J. Bernstein, Professor of History, Stanford University. It was reprinted with permission from Professor Bernstein and *Foreign Affairs*, January / February 1995. Professor Bernstein is an authority on the atomic bombings of Japan. As you read through this article, consider the following:

Describe the historical background of the development of the atomic bomb.

Describe the "political pressures" to use the atomic bomb.

What issues were considered regarding possible targets for using the atomic bomb?

What were some of the reasons supporting the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan?

What are your thoughts on noncombatants killed during World War II?

In the final section of Professor Bernstein's article, he points out that "Only years later, as government archives opened, wartime hatreds faded, and sensibilities changed, would Americans begin seriously to question whether the atomic bombings were necessary, desirable, and moral." What are your thoughts on this issue?

Would his—or your—analysis significantly change if the mid-1945 estimates of U.S. casualties in the invasion(s) of Japan have been, as some argue, 268,000 casualties, a million U.S. casualties, or even 500,000 dead?

Did racism play an important part in the decision? In further researching that question, how would you pursue the research?

In the last paragraph of the article, Professor Bernstein references a letter written by President Truman. The letter, dated August 11, 1945, (from the Harry S. Truman Library online, Project Whistlestop), as well as a statement written by Truman shortly after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, were distributed to your group by your teacher. What are your reactions to these documents?

Obviously, high school history textbooks cannot extensively cover all historical events such as the atomic bombings of Japan. If you were given the opportunity, what aspects of Professor Bernstein's article would you incorporate into your textbook coverage of the atomic bombings of Japan and why?

The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered
By Barton J. Bernstein

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The Questions America Should Ask

Fifty years ago, during a three-day period in August 1945, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, killing more than 115,000 people and possibly as many as 250,000, and injuring at least another 100,000. In the aftermath of the war, the bombings raised both ethical and historical questions about why and how they were used. Would they have been used on Germany? Why were cities targeted so that so many civilians would be killed? Were there likely alternative ways to end the war speedily and avoid the Allies' scheduled November 1, 1945, invasion on Kyushu?

Such questions often fail to recognize that, before Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the use of the A-bomb did not raise profound moral issues for policymakers. The weapon was conceived in a race with Germany, and it undoubtedly would have been used against Germany had the bomb been ready much sooner. During the war, the target shifted to Japan. And during World War II's brutal course, civilians in cities had already become targets. The grim Axis bombing record is well known. Masses of noncombatants were also intentionally killed in the later stages of the American air war against Germany; that tactic was developed further in 1945 with the firebombing of Japanese cities.

Such mass bombing constituted a transformation of morality, repudiating President Franklin D. Roosevelt's prewar pleas that the warring nations avoid bombing cities to spare civilian lives. Thus, by 1945, American leaders were not seeking to avoid the use of the A-bomb on Japan. But the evidence from current archival research shows that by pursuing alternative tactics instead, they probably could still have obviated the dreaded invasion that ended the war by November.

Shifting from Germany to Japan

In 1941, urged by émigré and American scientists, President Roosevelt initiated the atomic bomb project—soon code-named the Manhattan Project—amid what was believed to be a desperate race with Hitler's Germany for the bomb. At the beginning, Roosevelt and his chief aides assumed that the A-bomb was a legitimate weapon that would be used first against Nazi Germany. They also decided that the bomb project should be kept secret from the Soviet Union, even after the Soviets became a wartime ally, because the bomb might well give the United States future leverage against the Soviets.

By mid-1944, the landscape of the war had changed. Roosevelt and his top advisers knew that the likely target would now be Japan, for the war with Germany would undoubtedly end well before the A-bomb was expected to be ready, around the spring of 1945. In a secret September 1944 memorandum at Hyde Park, Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill ratified the shift from Germany to Japan. Their phrasing suggested that, for the moment anyway, they might have had some slight doubts about actually using the bomb, for they agreed that "it might *perhaps*, after mature consideration, be used against the Japanese" (my emphasis).

Four days later, mulling over matters aloud with a visiting British diplomat and chief U.S. science adviser Vannevar Bush, Roosevelt briefly wondered whether the A-bomb should be dropped on Japan or whether it should be demonstrated in America, presumably with Japanese observers, and then used as a threat. His speculative notion seemed so unimportant and so contrary to the project's long-standing operating assumptions that Bush actually forgot about it when he prepared a memo of the meeting. He only recalled the president's remarks a day later and then added a brief paragraph to another memorandum.

Put in context alongside the dominant assumption that the bomb would be used against the enemy, the significance of F.D.R.'s occasional doubts is precisely that they were so occasional—expressed twice in almost four years. All of F.D.R.'s advisers who knew about the bomb always unquestioningly assumed that it would be used. Indeed, their memoranda frequently spoke of "after it is used" or "when it is used," and never "if it is used." By about mid-1944, most had comfortably concluded that the target would be Japan.

The bomb's assumed legitimacy as a war weapon was ratified bureaucratically in September 1944 when General Leslie Groves, the director of the Manhattan Project, had the air force create a special group—the 509th Composite Group with 1,750 men—to begin practicing to drop atomic bombs. So dominant was the assumption that the bomb would be used against Japan that only one high-ranking Washington official, Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson, even questioned this notion after V-E Day. He wondered whether the defeat of Germany on May 8, 1945, might alter the plans for dropping the bomb on Japan. It would not.

The Assumption of Use

The Manhattan Project, costing nearly \$2 billion, had been kept secret from most cabinet members and nearly all of Congress. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, a trusted Republican, and General George C. Marshall, the equally respected army chief of staff, disclosed the project to only a few congressional leaders. They smuggled the necessary appropriations into the War Department budget without the knowledge—much less

the scrutiny—of most congressmen, including most members of the key appropriations committees. A conception of the national interest agreed upon by a few men from the executive and legislative branches had revised the normal appropriations process.

In March 1944, when a Democratic senator heading a special investigating committee wanted to pry into this expensive project, Stimson peevishly described him in his diary as "a nuisance and pretty untrustworthy...He talks smoothly but acts meanly." That man was Senator Harry S. Truman. Marshall persuaded him not to investigate the project, and thus Truman did not learn any more than it involved a new weapon until he was suddenly thrust into the presidency on April 12, 1945.

In early 1945, James F. Byrnes, then F.D.R.'s "assistant president" for domestic affairs and a savvy Democratic politician, began to suspect that the Manhattan Project was a boondoggle. "If [it] proves a failure," he warned Roosevelt, "it will be subjected to relentless investigation and criticism." Byrnes' doubts were soon overcome by Stimson and Marshall. A secret War Department report, with some hyperbole, summarized the situation: "If the project succeeds, there won't be any investigation. If it doesn't, they won't investigate anything else."

Had Roosevelt lived, such lurking political pressures might have powerfully confirmed his intention to use the weapon on the enemy—an assumption he had already made. How else could he have justified spending roughly \$2 billion, diverting scarce materials from other war enterprises that might have been even more useful, and bypassing Congress? In a nation still unprepared to trust scientists, the Manhattan Project could have seemed a gigantic waste if its value were not dramatically demonstrated by the use of the atomic bomb.

Truman, inheriting the project and trusting both Marshall and Stimson, would be even more vulnerable to such political pressures. And, like F.D.R., the new president easily assumed that the bomb should and would be used. Truman never questioned that assumption. Bureaucratic developments set in motion before he entered the White House reinforced his belief. And his aides, many inherited from the Roosevelt administration, shared the same faith.

Picking Targets

Groves, eager to retain control of the atomic project, received Marshall's permission in early spring 1945 to select targets for the new weapon. Groves and his associates had long recognized that they were considering a weapon of a new magnitude, possibly equivalent to the "normal bombs carried by [at least] 2,500 bombers." And they had come to assume that the A-bomb would be "detonated well above ground, relying primarily on blast effect to do material damage, [so that even with] minimum probable efficiency, there will be the maximum number of structures (dwellings and factories) damaged beyond repair."

On April 27, the Target Committee, composed of Groves, army air force men like General Lauris Norstad, and scientists including the great mathematician John Von Neumann, met for the first time to discuss how and where in Japan to drop the bomb. They did not want to risk wasting the precious weapon, and decided that it must be dropped visually and not by radar, despite the poor weather conditions in Japan during the summer, when the bomb would be ready.

Good targets were not plentiful. The air force, they knew, "was systematically bombing out the following cities with the prime purpose ... of not leaving one stone lying on another: Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, Yawata, and Nagasaki ... The air force is operating primarily to laying [sic] waste all the main Japanese cities ... Their existing procedure is to bomb the hell out of Tokyo."

By early 1945, World War II—especially in the Pacific—had become virtually a total war. The firebombing of Dresden had helped set a precedent for the U.S. air force, supported by the American people, to intentionally kill mass numbers of Japanese citizens. The earlier moral insistence on noncombatant immunity crumbled during the savage war. In Tokyo, during March 9–10, a U.S. air attack killed about 80,000 Japanese civilians. American B-29s dropped napalm on the city's heavily populated areas to produce uncontrollable firestorms. It may even have been easier to conduct this new warfare outside Europe and against Japan because its people seemed like "yellow subhumans" to many rank-and-file American citizens and many of their leaders.

In this new moral context, with mass killings of an enemy's civilians even seeming desirable, the committee agreed to choose "large urban areas of not less than three miles in diameter existing in the larger populated areas" as A-bomb targets. The April 27 discussion focused on four cities: Hiroshima, which, as "the largest untouched target not on the 21st Bomber Command priority list," warranted serious consideration; Yawata, known for its steel industry; Yokohama; and Tokyo, "a possibility [though] now practically all bombed and burned out and ... practically rubble with only the palace grounds left standing." They decided that other areas warranted more consideration: Tokyo Bay, Kawasaki, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Kure, Yawata, Kokura, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, and Sasebo.

The choice of targets would depend partly on how the bomb would do its deadly work—the balance of blast, heat, and radiation. At their second set of meetings, during May 11–12, physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Los Alamos laboratory, stressed that the bomb material itself was lethal enough for perhaps a billion deadly doses and that the weapon would give off lethal radioactivity. The bomb, set to explode in the air, would deposit "a large fraction of

either the initial active material or the radioactive products in the immediate vicinity of the target; but the radiation ... will, of course, have an effect on exposed personnel in the target area." It was unclear, he acknowledged, what would happen to most of the radioactive material: it could stay for hours as a cloud above the place of detonation or, if the bomb exploded during rain or in high humidity and thus caused rain, "most of the active material will be brought down in the vicinity of the target area." Oppenheimer's report left unclear whether a substantial proportion or only a small fraction of the population might die from radiation. So far as the skimpy records reveal, no member of the Target Committee chose to dwell on this matter. They probably assumed that the bomb blast would claim most of its victims before the radiation could do its deadly work.

In considering targets, they discussed the possibility of bombing the emperor's palace in Tokyo and "agreed that we should not recommend it but that any action for this bombing should come from authorities on military policy." They decided to gather information on the effectiveness of using the bomb on the palace.

The Target Committee selected their four top targets: Kyoto, Hiroshima, Yokohama, and Kokura Arsenal, with the implication that Niigata, a city farther away from the air force 509th group's Tinian base, might be held in reserve as a fifth. Kyoto, the ancient former capital and shrine city, with a population of about a million, was the most attractive target to the committee. "From the psychological point of view," the committee minutes note, "there is the advantage that Kyoto is an intellectual center for Japan and [thus] the people there are more apt to appreciate the significance of such a weapon." The implication was that those in Kyoto who survived the A-bombing and saw the horror would be believed elsewhere in Japan.

Of central importance, the group stressed that the bomb should be used as a terror weapon—to produce "the greatest psychological effect against Japan" and to make the world, and the U.S.S.R. in particular, aware that America possessed this new power. The death and destruction would not only intimidate the surviving Japanese into pushing for surrender, but, as a bonus, cow other nations, notably the Soviet Union. In short, America could speed the ending of the war and by the same act help shape the postwar world.

By the committee's third meeting, two weeks later, on May 28, they had pinned down matters. They chose as their targets (in order) Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Niigata, and decided to aim for the center of each city. They agreed that aiming for industrial areas would be a mistake because such targets were small, spread on the cities' fringes, and quite dispersed. They also knew that bombing was imprecise enough that the bomb might easily miss its mark by a fifth of a mile, and they wanted to be sure that the weapon would show its power and

not be wasted.

The committee understood that the three target cities would be removed from the air force's regular target list, reserving them for the A-bomb. But, the members were informed, "with the current and prospective rate of ... bombings, it is expected to complete strategic bombing of Japan by 1 Jan 46 so availability of future [A-bomb] targets will be a problem." In short, Japan was being bombed out.

The Ratification of Terror Bombing

On May 28, 1945, physicist Arthur H. Compton, a Nobel laureate and member of a special scientific panel advising the high-level Interim Committee newly appointed to recommend policy about the bomb, raised profound moral and political questions about how the atomic bomb would be used. "It introduces the question of mass slaughter, really for the first time in history," he wrote. "It carries with it the question of possible radioactive poison over the area bombed. Essentially, the question of the use ... of the new weapon carries much more serious implications than the introduction of poison gas."

Compton's concern received some independent support from General Marshall, who told Secretary Stimson on May 29 that the A-bomb should first be used not against civilians but against military installations—perhaps a naval base—and then possibly against large manufacturing areas after the civilians had received ample warnings to flee. Marshall feared "the opprobrium which might follow from an ill considered employment of such force." A graduate of Virginia Military Institute and a trained soldier, Marshall struggled to retain the older code of not *intentionally* killing civilians. The concerns of Compton the scientist and Marshall the general, their values so rooted in an earlier conception of war that sought to spare noncombatants, soon gave way to the sense of exigency, the desire to use the bomb on people, and the unwillingness or inability of anyone near the top in Washington to plead forcefully for maintaining this older morality.

On May 31, 1945, the Interim Committee, composed of Stimson, Bush, Harvard President James Conant, physicist and educator Karl T. Compton, Secretary of State designate James F. Byrnes, and a few other notables, discussed the A-bomb. Opening this meeting, Stimson, the aged secretary of war who had agonized over the recent shift toward mass bombing of civilians, described the atomic bomb as representing "a new relationship of man to the universe. This discovery might be compared to the discoveries of the Copernican theory and the laws of gravity, but far more important than these in its effects on the lives of men."

Meeting, as they were, some six weeks before the first nuclear test at Alamogordo, they were still unsure of the power of this new weapon. Oppenheimer told the group

that it would have an explosive force of between 2,000 and 20,000 tons of TNT. Its visual effect would be tremendous. "It would be accompanied by a brilliant luminescence which would rise to a height of 10,000 to 20,000 feet," Oppenheimer reported. "The neutron effect [radiation] would be dangerous to life for a radius of at least two-thirds of a mile." He estimated that 20,000 Japanese would be killed.

According to the committee minutes, the group discussed "various types of targets and the effect to be produced." Stimson "expressed the conclusion, on which there was general agreement, that we could not give the Japanese any warning; that we could not concentrate on a civilian area; but that we should seek to make a profound psychological impression on as many of the inhabitants as possible. At the suggestion of Dr. Conant, the secretary agreed that the most desirable target would be a vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses."

Directed by Stimson, the committee was actually endorsing terror bombing—but somewhat uneasily. They would not focus exclusively on a military target (the older morality), as Marshall had recently proposed, nor fully on civilians (the emerging morality). They managed to achieve their purpose—terror bombing—without bluntly acknowledging it to themselves. All knew that families—women, children, and, even in the daytime, during the bomb attack, some workers—dwelled in "workers' houses."

At the committee's morning or afternoon session, or at lunch, or possibly at all three times—different members later presented differing recollections—the notion of a noncombat demonstration of the A-bomb came up. The issue of how to use the bomb was not even on Stimson's agenda, nor was it part of the formal mandate of the Interim Committee, but he may have showed passing interest in the subject of a noncombat demonstration. They soon rejected it. It was deemed too risky for various reasons: the bomb might not work, the Japanese air force might interfere with the bomber, the A-bomb might not adequately impress the Japanese militarists, or the bomb might incinerate any Allied POWs whom the Japanese might place in the area.

The discussion on May 31 had focused substantially on how to use the bomb against Japan. At one point some of the members had considered trying several A-bomb strikes at the same time and presumably on the same city. Groves opposed this notion, partly on the grounds that "the effect would not be sufficiently distinct from our regular air force bombing program." Like the others, he was counting on the dramatic effect of a single bomb, delivered by a single plane, killing many thousands. It was not new for the air force to kill so many Japanese, but this method would be new. And the use of the new weapon would carry, as stressed by the American proclamations in early August, the likelihood of more nuclear attacks on Japanese cities—a

continuing "rain of ruin."

Two weeks after the Interim Committee meeting, on June 16, after émigré physicists James Franck and Leo Szilard and some colleagues from the Manhattan Project's Chicago laboratory raised moral and political questions about the surprise use of the bomb on Japan, a special four-member scientific advisory committee disposed of the matter of a noncombat demonstration. The group was composed of physicists Arthur Compton, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and Ernest O. Lawrence. By one report, Lawrence was the last of the four to give up hope for a noncombat demonstration. Oppenheimer, who spoke on the issue in 1954 and was not then controverted by the other three men, recalled that the subject of a noncombat demonstration was not the most important matter dealt with during the group's busy weekend meeting and thus did not receive much attention. On June 16, the four scientists concluded: "We can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use."

At that time, as some members of the scientific panel later grudgingly acknowledged, they knew little about the situation in Japan, the power of the militarists there, the timid efforts by the peace forces there to move toward a settlement, the date of the likely American invasion of Kyushu, and the power of the still untested A-bomb. "We didn't know beans about the military situation," Oppenheimer later remarked pungently.

But even different counsel by the scientific advisers probably could not have reversed the course of events. The bomb had been devised to be used, the project cost about \$2 billion, and Truman and Byrnes, the president's key political aide, had no desire to avoid its use. Nor did Stimson. They even had additional reasons for wanting to use it: the bomb might *also* intimidate the Soviets and render them tractable in the postwar period.

Stimson emphasized this theme in a secret memorandum to Truman on April 25: "If the problem of the proper use of this weapon can be solved, we should then have the opportunity to bring the world into a pattern in which the peace of the world and our civilization can be saved." Concern about the bomb and its relationship to the Soviet Union dominated Stimson's thinking in the spring and summer of 1945. And Truman and Byrnes, perhaps partly under Stimson's tutelage, came to stress the same hopes for the bomb.

The Agonies of Killing Civilians

During 1945, Stimson found himself presiding, with agony, over an air force that killed hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians. Usually, he preferred not to face these ugly facts, but sought refuge in the notion that the air force was actually engaged in precision bombing and that somehow this precision bombing was going awry. Caught between an older morality that opposed the intentional killing of

noncombatants and a newer one that stressed virtually total war, Stimson could neither fully face the facts nor fully escape them. He was not a hypocrite but a man trapped in ambivalence.

Stimson discussed the problem with Truman on June 6. Stimson stressed that he was worried about the air force's mass bombing, but that it was hard to restrict it. In his diary, Stimson recorded: "I told him I was anxious about this feature of the war for two reasons: first, because I did not want to have the United States get the reputation of outdoing Hitler in atrocities; and second, I was a little fearful that before we could get ready the air force might have Japan so thoroughly bombed out that the new weapon would not have a fair background to show its strength." According to Stimson, Truman "laughed and said he understood."

Unable to reestablish the old morality and wanting the benefits for America of the new, Stimson proved decisive—even obdurate—on a comparatively small matter: removing Kyoto from Groves' target list of cities. It was not that Stimson was trying to save Kyoto's citizens; rather, he was seeking to save its relics, lest the Japanese become embittered and later side with the Soviets. As Stimson explained in his diary entry of July 24: "The bitterness which would be caused by such a wanton act might make it impossible during the long post-war period to reconcile the Japanese to us in that area rather than to the Russians. It might thus ... be the means of preventing what our policy demanded, namely, a sympathetic Japan to the United States in case there should be any aggression by Russia in Manchuria."

Truman, backing Stimson on this matter, insisted privately that the A-bombs would be used only on military targets. Apparently the president wished not to recognize the inevitable—that a weapon of such great power would necessarily kill many civilians. At Potsdam on July 25, Truman received glowing reports of the vast destruction achieved by the Alamogordo blast and lavishly recorded the details in his diary: a crater of 1,200 feet in diameter, a steel tower destroyed a half mile away, men knocked over six miles away. "We have discovered," he wrote in his diary, "the most terrible bomb in the history of the world. It may be the fire destruction prophesied." But when he approved the final list of A-bomb targets, with Nagasaki and Kokura substituted for Kyoto, he could write in his diary, "I have told Sec. Of War ... Stimson to use it so that military objectives and soldiers and sailors are the target and not women and children. Even if the Japs are savages, ruthless, merciless, and fanatic ... [t]he target will be a purely military one." Truman may have been engaging in self-deception to make the mass deaths of civilians acceptable.

Neither Hiroshima nor Nagasaki was a "purely military" target, but the official press releases, cast well before the atomic bombings, glided over this matter. Hiroshima, for example, was described simply as "an important Japanese army base." The press releases were

drafted by men who knew that those cities had been chosen partly to dramatize the killing of noncombatants.

On August 10, the day after the Nagasaki bombing, when Truman realized the magnitude of the mass killing and the Japanese offered a conditional surrender requiring continuation of the emperor, the president told his cabinet that he did not want to kill any more women and children. Rejecting demands to drop more atomic bombs on Japan, he hoped not to use them again. After two atomic bombings, the horror of mass death had forcefully hit the president, and he was willing to return partway to the older morality—civilians might be protected from A-bombs. But he continued to sanction the heavy conventional bombing of Japan's cities, with the deadly toll that napalm, incendiaries, and other bombs produced. Between August 10 and August 14—the war's last day, on which about 1,000 American planes bombed Japanese cities, some delivering their deadly cargo after Japan announced its surrender—the United States probably killed more than 15,000 Japanese.

The Roads Not Taken

Before August 10, Truman and his associates had not sought to avoid the use of the atomic bomb. As a result, they had easily dismissed the possibility of a noncombat demonstration. Indeed, the post-Hiroshima pleas of Japan's military leaders for a final glorious battle suggest that such a demonstration probably would not have produced a speedy surrender. And American leaders also did not pursue other alternatives: modifying their unconditional surrender demand by guaranteeing the maintenance of the emperor, awaiting the Soviet entry into the war, or simply pursuing heavy conventional bombing of the cities amid the strangling naval blockade.

Truman and Byrnes did not believe that a modification of the unconditional surrender formula would produce a speedy surrender. They thought that guaranteeing to maintain the emperor would prompt an angry backlash from Americans who regarded Hirohito as a war criminal, and feared that this concession might embolden the Japanese militarists to expect more concessions and thus prolong the war. As a result, the president and his secretary of state easily rejected Stimson's pleas for a guarantee of the emperor.

Similarly, most American leaders did not believe that the Soviet entry into the Pacific war would make a decisive difference and greatly speed Japan's surrender. Generally, they believed that the U.S.S.R.'s entry would help end the war—ideally, before the massive invasion of Kyushu. They anticipated Moscow's intervention in mid-August, but the Soviets moved up their schedule to August 8, probably because of the Hiroshima bombing, and the Soviet entry did play an important role in producing Japan's surrender on August 14. Soviet entry without the A-bomb *might* have produced Japan's surrender before November.

The American aim was to avoid, if possible, the

November 1 invasion, which would involve about 767,000 troops, at a possible cost of 31,000 casualties in the first 30 days and a total estimated American death toll of about 25,000. And American leaders certainly wanted to avoid the second part of the invasion plan, an assault on the Tokyo plain, scheduled for around March 1, 1946, with an estimated 15,000–21,000 more Americans dead. In the spring and summer of 1945, no American leader believed—as some later falsely claimed—that they planned to use the A-bomb to save half a million Americans. But, given the patriotic calculus of the time, there was no hesitation about using A-bombs to kill many Japanese in order to save the 25,000–46,000 Americans who might otherwise have died in the invasions. Put bluntly, Japanese life—including civilian life—was cheap, and some American leaders, like many rank-and-file citizens, may well have savored the prospect of punishing the Japanese with the A-bomb.

Truman, Byrnes, and the other leaders did not have to be reminded of the danger of a political backlash in America if they did not use the bomb and the invasions became necessary. Even if they had wished to avoid its use—and they did not—the fear of later public outrage spurred by the weeping parents and loved ones of dead American boys might well have forced American leaders to drop the A-bomb on Japan.

No one in official Washington expected that one or two atomic bombs would end the war quickly. They expected to use at least a third, and probably more. And until the day after Nagasaki, there had never been in their thinking a choice between atomic bombs and conventional bombs, but a selection of both—using mass bombings to compel surrender. Atomic bombs and conventional bombs were viewed as supplements to, not substitutes for, one another. Heavy conventional bombing of Japan's cities would probably have killed hundreds of thousands in the next few months, and might have produced the desired surrender before November 1.

Taken together, some of these alternatives—promising to retain the Japanese monarchy, awaiting the Soviets' entry, and even more conventional bombing—very probably could have ended the war before the dreaded invasion. Still, the evidence—to borrow a phrase from F.D.R.—is somewhat "iffy," and no one who looks at the intransigence of the Japanese militarists should have full confidence in those other strategies. But we may well regret that these alternatives were not pursued and that there was not an effort to avoid the use of the first A-bomb—and certainly the second.

Whatever one thinks about the necessity of the first A-bomb, the second—dropped on Nagasaki on August 9—was almost certainly unnecessary. It was used because the original order directed the air force to drop bombs "as made ready" and, even after the Hiroshima bombing, no one in Washington anticipated an imminent Japanese surrender. Evidence now available

about developments in the Japanese government—most notably the emperor's then-secret decision shortly before the Nagasaki bombing to seek peace—makes it clear that the second bomb could undoubtedly have been avoided. At least 35,000 Japanese and possibly almost twice that number, as well as several thousand Koreans, died unnecessarily in Nagasaki.

Administration leaders did not seek to avoid the use of the A-bomb. They even believed that its military use might produce a powerful bonus: the intimidation of the Soviets, rendering them, as Byrnes said, "more manageable," especially in Eastern Europe. Although that was not the dominant purpose for using the weapon, it certainly was a strong confirming one. Had Truman and his associates, like the dissenting scientists at Chicago, foreseen that the A-bombing of Japan would make the Soviets intransigent rather than tractable, perhaps American leaders would have questioned their decision. But precisely because American leaders expected that the bombings would also compel the Soviet Union to loosen its policy in Eastern Europe, there was no incentive to question their intention to use the atomic bomb. Even if they had, the decision would probably have been the same. In a powerful sense, the atomic bombings represented the implementation of an assumption—one that Truman comfortably inherited from Roosevelt. Hiroshima was an easy decision for Truman.

The Redefinition of Morality

Only years later, as government archives opened, wartime hatreds faded, and sensibilities changed, would Americans begin seriously to question whether the atomic bombings were necessary, desirable, and moral. Building on the postwar memoirs of Admiral William Leahy and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, among others, doubts began to emerge about the use of the atomic bombs against Japan. As the years passed, Americans learned that the bombs, according to high-level American military estimates in June and July 1945, probably could not have saved a half million American lives in the invasions, as Truman sometimes contended after Nagasaki, but would have saved fewer than 50,000. Americans also came slowly to recognize the barbarity of World War II, especially the mass killings by bombing civilians. It was that redefinition of morality that made Hiroshima and Nagasaki possible and ushered in the atomic age in a frightening way.

That redefinition of morality was a product of World War II, which included such barbarities as Germany's systematic murder of six million Jews and Japan's rape of Nanking. While the worst atrocities were perpetrated by the Axis, all the major nation-states sliced away at the moral code—often to the applause of their leaders and citizens alike. By 1945 there were few moral restraints left in what had become virtually a total war. Even F.D.R.'s prewar concern for sparing enemy civilians had

fallen by the wayside. In that new moral climate, any nation that had the A-bomb would probably have used it against enemy peoples. British leaders as well as Joseph Stalin endorsed the act. Germany's and Japan's leaders surely would have used it against cities. America was not morally unique—just technologically exceptional. Only it had the bomb, and so only it used it.

To understand this historical context does not require that American citizens or others should approve of it. But it does require that they recognize that pre- and post-Hiroshima dissent was rare in 1945. Indeed, few then asked why the United States used the atomic bomb on Japan. But had the bomb not been used, many more, including numerous outraged citizens, would have

bitterly asked that question of the Truman administration.

In 1945, most Americans shared the feelings that Truman privately expressed a few days after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings when he justified the weapons' use in a letter to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. "I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war," the president wrote. "The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them. When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, D. C.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on and destroyed its usefulness to the enemy. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It had more than two thousand times the blast power of the British "Grand Slam" which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare.

The Japanese began the war from the air at Pearl Harbor. They have been repaid many fold. And the end is not yet. With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces. In their present form these bombs are now in production and even more powerful forms are in development.

It is an atomic bomb. It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe. The force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed against those who brought war to the Far East.

Before 1939, it was the accepted belief of scientists that it was theoretically possible to release atomic energy. But no one knew any practical method of doing it. By 1942, however, we knew that the Germans were working feverishly to find a way to add atomic energy to the other engines of war with which they hoped to enslave the world. But they failed. We may be grateful to Providence that the Germans got the V-1's and V-2's late and in limited quantities and even more grateful that they did not get the atomic bomb at all.

The battle of the laboratories held fateful risks for us as well as the battles of the air, land and sea, and we have now won the battle of the laboratories as we have won the other battles.

Beginning in 1940, before Pearl Harbor, scientific knowledge useful in war was pooled between the United States and Great Britain, and many priceless helps to our victories

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Papers of:
Eben A. Ayers

have come from that arrangement. Under that general policy the research on the atomic bomb was begun. With American and British scientists working together we entered the race of discovery against the Germans.

The United States had available the large number of scientists of distinction in the many needed areas of knowledge. It had the tremendous industrial and financial resources necessary for the project and they could be devoted to it without undue impairment of other vital war work. In the United States the laboratory work and the production plants, on which a substantial start had already been made, would be out of reach of enemy bombing, while at that time Britain was exposed to constant air attack and was still threatened with the possibility of invasion. For these reasons Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt agreed that it was wise to carry on the project here. We now have two great plants and many lesser works devoted to the production of atomic power. Employment during peak construction numbered 125,000 and over 65,000 individuals are even now engaged in operating the plants. Many have worked there for two and a half years. Few know what they have been producing. They see great quantities of material going in and they see nothing coming out of these plants, for the physical size of the explosive charge is exceedingly small. We have spent two billion dollars on the greatest scientific gamble in history -- and won.

But the greatest marvel is not the size of the enterprise, its secrecy, nor its cost, but the achievement of scientific brains in putting together infinitely complex pieces of knowledge held by many men in different fields of science into a workable plan. And hardly less marvelous has been the capacity of industry to design, and of labor to operate, the machines and methods to do things never done before so that the brain child of many minds came forth in physical shape and performed as it was supposed to do. Both science and industry worked under the direction of the United States Army, which achieved a unique success in managing so diverse a problem in the advancement of knowledge in an amazingly short time. It is doubtful if such another combination could be got together in the world. What has been done is the greatest achievement of organized science in history. It was done under high pressure and without failure.

We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

- 2 -

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Eben A. Ayers

It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth. Behind this air attack will follow sea and land forces in such numbers and power as they have not yet seen and with the fighting skill of which they are already well aware.

The Secretary of War, who has kept in personal touch with all phases of the project, will immediately make public a statement giving further details.

His statement will give facts concerning the sites at Oak Ridge near Knoxville, Tennessee, and at Richland near Pasco, Washington, and an installation near Santa Fe, New Mexico. Although the workers at the sites have been making materials to be used in producing the greatest destructive force in history they have not themselves been in danger beyond that of many other occupations, for the utmost care has been taken of their safety.

The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may in the future supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil, and falling water, but at present it cannot be produced on a basis to compete with them commercially. Before that comes there must be a long period of intensive research.

It has never been the habit of the scientists of this country or the policy of this Government to withhold from the world scientific knowledge. Normally, therefore, everything about the work with atomic energy would be made public.

But under present circumstances it is not intended to divulge the technical processes of production or all the military applications, pending further examination of possible methods of protecting us and the rest of the world from the danger of sudden destruction.

I shall recommend that the Congress of the United States consider promptly the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States. I shall give further consideration and make further recommendations to the Congress as to how atomic power can become a powerful and forceful influence towards the maintenance of world peace.

- 3 -

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Papers of:
Eben A. Ayers

August 11, 1945

My dear Mr. Cavert:

I appreciated very much your telegram of August ninth.

Nobody is more disturbed over the use of Atomic bombs than I am but I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war. The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them.

When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast. It is most regrettable but nevertheless true.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. Samuel McCrea Cavert
General Secretary
Federal Council of
The Churches of Christ in America
New York City, New York



Small-Group Activities

HIROSHIMA

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ATOMIC BOMBING

- Organizing Questions**
- What are some perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan?
 - How do these perspectives influence your thoughts on the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan?
 - How do these perspectives influence your thoughts on the use of the atomic bomb?
- Introduction**
- Eight small-group activities are provided in this section of the curriculum module. Each activity introduces students to varying perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan. Many of the activities contain primary source documents and various readings. Students are encouraged to consider how these perspectives influence their thoughts on the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan.
- Objectives**
- knowledge*
- to learn about multiple perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan
- attitude*
- to appreciate the diversity of perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan
 - to appreciate the difficulty involved in evaluating different opinions
 - to consider the decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan
- skill*
- to work effectively in small groups
 - to organize and express opinions
- Materials**
- Handout #1: Rewriting a Chapter from an English Language Textbook for Japanese Ninth Graders, one copy
 - Handout #2: Literary Perspectives, one copy
 - Handout #3: Medical Perspectives, one copy
 - Handout #4: American Atomic Bomb Survivors, one copy
 - Handout #5: Non-Japanese Victims' Perspectives, one copy
 - Handout #6: Comics, one copy
 - Handout #7: Hiroshima Poetry, one copy
 - Handout #8: Stamps, one copy

small-group activities

In the eight small-group activities, multiple perspectives are presented to students regarding the atomic bombing of Japan. It is important to point out to students that although these eight activities obviously do not represent all perspectives of the atomic bombing of Japan, they do provide a range of important perspectives.

The activities were developed with the theory of multiple intelligences in mind. The eight activities focus primarily on one or more of the intelligences. These are listed below. Also, some activities have more extensive readings than others.

Activity #1: Verbal-Linguistic and Spatial

Activity #2: Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #3: Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #4: Intrapersonal and Interpersonal

Activity #5: Verbal-Linguistic and Spatial

Activity #6: Spatial

Activity #7: Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #8: Spatial

Procedure

1. Point out to students that they will be engaging in small-group activities that examine multiple perspectives on the atomic bombing of Japan. During this examination, students will be encouraged to reflect upon the use of the atomic bomb on Japan.

Divide the students into eight groups. Distribute one of the Activities #1–8 to each group. Allow students one class period or more to work on their activities and the group tasks. Each group should select a group facilitator to share or facilitate the sharing of the group's task and findings to the rest of the class. Note that Activity #6 contains graphic images and derogatory language, e.g., the use of the term, "Jap."

2. Ask each of the groups in turn to come to the front of the class to share its group task and findings.
 3. After each group has shared, have the class draw comparisons among the different groups and discuss the various perspectives presented.
 4. Note that students will engage in the activities using their multiple intelligences (i.e., verbal-linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal). Keep this in mind when assessing student outcomes.
- For Activities #6 and #8, you may want to consider craftsmanship, appropriate detail, themes, and symbolic meaning, as well as the students' general understanding of the perspectives presented in the comic books and through stamps in your assessment of the artwork.
 - For Activities #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, and #7, you may want to consider craftsmanship, visual or sensory imagery, language use, and cohesive themes, as well as the students' general understanding of the textbook

excerpts, narratives, and poetry in your assessment of the students' writings.

Another suggested assessment approach to use with this module is a reflective journal, in which students record their attitudes toward the concepts and information provided in the activities. This topic may be a very sensitive area for some. You may consider having students identify certain sections of the journals for teacher and/or other students' comments.

Follow-up Activities

- Have students assume the role of a newspaper editorial writer from the following hypothetical newspapers: *U.S. Daily News*, *Tokyo News Bulletin*, *Hiroshima Times*. Have them choose an event related to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and write an editorial. Use the editorials to determine how well students draw upon their newly acquired knowledge and perspectives related to the atomic bombing. How persuasive are their comments and/or points of view?
- Have students develop plans for a documentary on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.
- Have students interview World War II veterans about their thoughts on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.
- Have student representatives from some of the small groups engage in a "radio talk show"-type dialogue.

REWRITING A CHAPTER FROM AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK FOR JAPANESE NINTH GRADERS

The following is a chapter from an English textbook for Japanese ninth graders. It deals with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in World War II. In Japan, English is a mandatory subject for students and they usually start learning the language in seventh grade. Since most Japanese ninth graders have beginning levels of English, the text is short and the structure is plain and very simple. Textbooks are a powerful means to disseminate information, points of view, or perspectives. After reading the story, discuss how it makes you feel about both the United States and Japan.

Two Visitors¹

In the summer of 1945, Japan had two visitors. They came from the United States of America. One of them was Little Boy and the other was Fat Man.

Who are they? I think it is very difficult for you to answer this question.

Little Boy came to Hiroshima on August 6. Fat Man came to Nagasaki three days later. When Little Boy fell from the sky above Hiroshima, he blew up and gave out a strong light and strong heat.

The heat was so strong that it reached 7,000°C. Thousands of people were killed. Can you guess how many? More than 200,000!

Some people called the bombs 'Little Boy' and 'Fat Man.' They are charming names, aren't they? They are the names for the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A name is a name. It is not a thing. I think it is important to remember this. A thing with a charming name can sometimes do a cruel thing like Little Boy or Fat Man.

May: Do you think we can survive a nuclear war?

Jiro: I'm afraid not. There are bombs far stronger than Little Boy or Fat Man. They are too strong for us to survive.

May: I think we should do everything we can to stop stupid wars.

Jiro: I agree. But I wonder what we can do.

¹ *New Crown English Series 3*, New Edition, Sanseido. © 1990, reproduced with permission.

You are required to rewrite the story for Japanese ninth graders. The following are directions to rewrite the story.

1. Limit yourself to 250 words.
2. Use basic words.
3. Visit the websites:
http://www.dannen.com/hiroshima_links.html
<http://www.csi.ad.jp/ABOMB/index.html>
<http://www.hiroshima-is.ac.jp/Hiroshima/links.htm>
4. Examine some images of the bomb and its aftermath. Then develop illustrations for the story. The original story in the textbook had pictures of the Statue of Peace, the Children's Peace Monument, peace memorials, the atomic bomb's mushroom cloud, and an illustration of the *Enola Gay*, the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.
5. The last section of the chapter includes a conversation between a boy and a girl (possibly a Japanese boy and an American girl). In this section, the Japanese textbook users are supposed to think about war. Rewrite this dialogue as well. Create your own characters, real or imaginary.
6. Compare this Japanese textbook excerpt with the U.S. textbook excerpt from the introductory activity of this module. Obviously, the textbooks were written for different audiences and different subject matters. However, discuss the similarities and differences in the excerpts.
7. If time permits, add another short section to the story. For example, you might refer to current issues on atomic weapon testing, nuclear waste, deterrence, or other nuclear-related issues.
8. Share a short presentation of your textbook revision as well as a summary of your group's discussion with the rest of the class.

LITERARY PERSPECTIVES

Black Rain, a novel written by Masuji Ibuse, centers on the story of a young woman who was caught in the radioactive “black rain” that fell after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. She later develops radiation sickness and is forced to give up all hopes of marrying someone because of the stigma attached to atomic bomb survivors.

Ibuse wrote his novel based largely on actual accounts written or told by survivors of the atomic bombing. At the time of the atomic bombing, dust, soot, and dirt had been thrown upward in a black cloud above Hiroshima. Mingling with radioactive particles and cooling water vapor, they fell again as a heavily radioactive, sticky, black rain. Using historical records, the author describes how this aftereffect caused countless survivors to fall ill with radiation sickness.

Ibuse gained world fame with the publication of this novel, which won two of the highest Japanese awards for literary authors. He is famous for presenting readers with themes that convey a sense of the indomitable human will to live in the face of tremendous conflict. Hence, even amidst the destruction and tragedy caused by the atomic bombing, the author boldly depicts the beauty of the Hiroshima landscape and the everyday life of the people of Hiroshima.

The original version of “Thank God for the Atom Bomb” was written for the publication, *The New Republic*, on the 50th anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan. The main point of the essay is that although the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were tragic, they were nonetheless necessary and justified. The author, Paul Fussell, invites readers to review the alternatives to the bomb and attempts to convince them that the alternatives would have brought even greater tragedy for both the United States and Japan. The author argues that those who criticize the use of the bomb—especially those who have no combat experience—have no right to judge the event.

Fussell is the author of other war-related works as well, and is professor emeritus of English at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a noted scholar of British literature and one of the most widely read authors on the experience of war. As a first lieutenant in Europe with two infantry divisions during World War II, he has combat experience, a fact that has greatly influenced his perspective on wars. Some have labeled him as a skeptic and an ironist for his writings, and in his own words, he speaks of the need to teach others literature that “strips away the pretty costumes worn by inherently ugly or unspeakable things.”

Discussion Questions

Read the following excerpts from *Black Rain* and "Thank God for the Atom Bomb." Discuss the following questions in your group. Be prepared to present a summary of your answers to the rest of the class.

1. What themes are expressed in the excerpts? Do the excerpts have any themes in common?
2. Analyze the last paragraph of each excerpt. What is the author trying to say?
3. In Paul Fussell's memoir, how do his personal experiences in war influence his opinion about the dropping of the atomic bomb?
4. In *Black Rain*, what advantages and/or disadvantages exist in having a literary author use actual accounts of the bombing to describe the event in his words?
5. What is the tone of each author? (tone is the author's attitude, manner, mood, and moral outlook, as displayed in his/her writing)
6. Fussell is an English professor and an ex-soldier; Ibuse is a novelist. How do their respective professions and experiences shape their writings?

Writing Activity

1. Using what you have learned from the literary excerpts, compose a dialogue between Masuji Ibuse and Paul Fussell. Situate the dialogue to take place at a future international writers' conference on the anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb.
2. Have two representatives from your group role-play the dialogue as a class presentation.
3. After all of the presentations have been performed, as a class, vote on which group dialogue best portrays the authors' viewpoints as revealed in the literary excerpts you read earlier.

Extension Activity

1. Assume the role of a book critic for your school newspaper, and write a book review on one or more of the following books. All of these books are acclaimed writings about the atomic bombings on Japan. Please note that the Japanese authors are listed with their first names followed by their last names.

Hiroshima, Mon Amour, by Marguerite Duras

Hiroshima, by John Hersey

Black Rain, by Masuji Ibuse

The Bomb, by Makoto Oda

Hiroshima Notes, by Kenzaburo Oe

In the Autumn Wind, by Dorothy Stroup

One Sunny Day, by Hideko Tamura Snider

activity #2

In writing your book review, consider the author's use of the following:

- **Theme**—the central idea(s) of the work, stated directly or indirectly
motif—one of the dominant ideas in the work; a part of the main theme; may be a character, a recurrent image, or a verbal pattern
- **Metaphor**—a figure of speech in which one thing is described in terms of another
- **Symbolism**—the use of an object, animate or inanimate, which represents or "stands for" something else; literary symbols combine an image with a concept
- **Flashback**—any scene or episode that is inserted to show events that happened at an earlier time
- **Hero**—Either the main character or a significant character of the work who displays noble qualities and/or virtuous attributes and is capable of performing heroic deeds
anti-hero—the antithesis of "hero"; a non-hero; a principal character who is apt for failure
- **Irony**—the perception or awareness of a discrepancy or incongruity between words and their meaning, or between actions and their results, or between appearance and reality; verbal irony involves saying what one does not mean; situational irony occurs, for instance, when a man is laughing at the misfortune of another even while the same misfortune, unbeknownst, is happening to him
- **Tone**—the author's attitude, manner, mood, and moral outlook, as displayed in his/her writing
- **Style**—how the author writes about the subject, including his choice of words, figures of speech, literary devices, and sentence and paragraph structures

Black Rain

By Masuji Ibuse, translated by John Bester; published by Kodansha International Ltd.

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August 6. Fair.

Every morning until yesterday the familiar voice on the radio would say "A squadron of eight B-29's is proceeding northwards over the sea at a point 120 kilometers to the south of the Kii Channel." This morning, the broadcast said, "One B-29 is proceeding northward," but we paid little heed since it was the same kind of broadcast as we had been hearing every day, day and night, for so long. We had become so used to air raid warnings that they bothered us little more than the midday siren had done in the old days.

On my way to work, I entered Yokogawa Station as usual to board the Kabe train. The train was about to leave. There was a station official whose face I knew at the ticket barrier, but the platform was empty of passengers. As I jumped onto the deck, I heard a voice say "Good morning, Mr. Shizuma." Standing beside me on the deck was the woman who owned the Takahashi spinning-comb works.

"Mr. Shizuma," she said, brushing back a wisp of hair with her fingers, "I shouldn't really ask you in a place like this, but we need your seal on those papers you prepared for us the other day so—"

At a point three meters to the left of the waiting train, I saw a ball of blindingly intense light, and simultaneously I was plunged into total, unseeing darkness. The next instant, the black veil in which I seemed to be enveloped was pierced by cries and screams of pain, shouts of "Get off!" and "Let me by!", curses, and other voices in indescribable confusion. The passengers came pouring out of the car. I was squeezed off the deck and flung onto the tracks on the opposite side from the platform, landing on something soft that seemed to be a woman's body. Another body landed heavily on top of me in turn. More bodies were piled up on either side of me. A cry of pain and rage escaped me, to be echoed in my ear by a similar cry, in a heavy local accent, from a man whose head was jammed against mine. With cries and groans rising all about me, I shook myself free of those on me and struggled to my feet. I pushed out with all my strength, thrusting others out of the way, until eventually I found myself being buffeted from behind against something hard. Recognizing it as the edge of the platform, I elbowed people out of the way and clambered up onto it.

Here, the cries of pain outnumbered those of alarm and anger. My eyes shut, my body wedged in a wave of humanity, I took one, then another step forward and found myself up against something hard again. Realizing that it was a pillar, I clung to it, scarcely aware

of what I was doing. I wrapped my arms about it tightly, but still I was torn and buffeted mercilessly. Pushed to the right, thrust back immediately to the left, many times I came close to being torn loose. Each time, my arms were squashed, my body and chin ground against the pillar till it seemed that my shoulders must give way with the pain. I knew I had only to let go and join the wave of humanity, yet every time the wave beat against me I clung desperately to the pillar so as not to be swept away. The first opinion I had formed was that the B-29 had dropped a poison bomb that blinded one's eyes, and that the train had been the direct target.

Eventually, quiet descended around me. Slowly and fearfully, I tried opening my eyes. Everything within my field of vision seemed to be obscured with a light brown haze, and a white, chalky powder was falling from the sky. Not a soul was in sight on the platform. Despite the uproar a moment ago, now not even a station official was to be seen in the building. I must have stayed clinging to the pillar with my eyes shut for considerably longer than I had realized.

Dozens of electric wires were dangling loose about the pillar. It occurred to me that they were awfully dangerous. I picked up one of the pieces of board that were lying about everywhere and brought some of the wires together, but there was no sign of a short circuit. Even so, I avoided the places where wires were crossed, pushing them aside with a piece of board as I climbed over a fence of old railroad ties to get out of the station. I was shocked to find that almost every house adjoining the station had been knocked flat, covering the ground about with an undulating sea of tiles. A few houses away from the station a young woman of marriageable age, the upper half of her body emerging from the rubble, was throwing tiles as rapidly as she could lay hands on them and screaming in a shrill voice. She probably thought she was crying "Help," but the sound that emerged was no intelligible human speech.

"Hey, young lady, why don't you get out of there?" called an old man with features like a Westerner, who was passing by. "Nobody can get near you if you throw things like that." He made to approach her as he spoke, but the girl began to fling the tiles at him, and he beat a hasty retreat. She must have been pinned down by a beam or something below the waist, yet it was remarkable that she should be stuck so firmly in the tiles and still move the upper part of her body so freely. The tiles were traveling quite far. She was breaking them, to make them smaller for easier throwing....

"Thank God for the Atom Bomb"

By Paul Fussell

Reprinted from *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays*

When the atom bomb ended the war, I was in the Forty-fifth Infantry Division, which had been through the European war so thoroughly that it had needed to be reconstituted two or three times. We were in a staging area near Rheims, ready to be shipped back across the United States for refresher training at Fort Lewis, Washington, and then sent on for final preparation in the Philippines. My division, like most of the ones transferred from Europe, was to take part in the invasion of Honshu. (The earlier landing on Kyushu was to be carried out by the 700,000 infantry already in the Pacific, those with whom James Jones has sympathized.) I was a twenty-one-year-old second lieutenant of infantry leading a rifle platoon. Although still officially fit for combat, in the German war I had already been wounded in the back and the leg badly enough to be adjudged, after the war, 40 percent disabled. But even if my leg buckled and I fell to the ground whenever I jumped out of the back of a truck, and even if the very idea of more combat made me breathe in gasps and shake all over, my condition was held to be adequate for the next act. When the atom bombs were dropped and news began to circulate that "Operation Olympic" would not, after all, be necessary, when we learned to our astonishment that we would not be obliged in a few months to rush up the beaches near Tokyo assault-firing while being machine-gunned, mortared, and shelled, for all the practiced phlegm of our tough façades we broke down and cried with relief and joy. We were going to live. We were going to grow

to adulthood after all. The killing was all going to be over, and peace was actually going to be the state of things. When the *Enola Gay* dropped its package, "There were cheers," says John Toland, "over the intercom; it meant the end of the war." Down on the ground the reaction of Sledge's marine buddies when they heard the news was more solemn and complicated. They heard about the end of the war with quiet disbelief coupled with an indescribable sense of relief. We thought the Japanese would never surrender. Many refused to believe it.... Sitting in stunned silence, we remembered our dead. So many dead. So many maimed. So many bright futures consigned to the ashes of the past. So many dreams lost in the madness that had engulfed us. Except for a few widely scattered shouts of joy, the survivors of the abyss sat hollow-eyed and silent, trying to comprehend a world without war.

Truman ... knew the war, and he knew better than some of his critics then and now what he was doing and why he was doing it. "Having found the bomb," he said, "we have used it.... We have used it to shorten the agony of young Americans."

The past, which as always did not know the future, acted in ways that ask to be imagined before they are condemned. Or even simplified.

MEDICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this activity, students will read excerpts from a diary of a Japanese physician, Hachiya Michihiko, as well as excerpts from a memoir written by an American physician, James N. Yamazaki. Both doctors took part in the treatment of atomic bomb victims in Japan. While Dr. Hachiya was directly involved in the immediate treatment of the victims, Dr. Yamazaki arrived in Nagasaki four years after the bombing to study the radiation effects on the victims' children.

Dr. Hachiya was director of the Hiroshima Communications Hospital when the bombing of Hiroshima took place, and he recorded his experiences during the bombing and in the month and a half after the event. His diary entries reflect not only his viewpoints as a Japanese citizen and victim of the bombing, but also reveal the perspective of a doctor who helped to heal those who suffered from the aftereffects of the atomic bombing.

Dr. Yamazaki vividly portrays his role in the study of children who were irradiated by the bombs while in their mothers' wombs. His perspective is unique in that it is shaped by his experiences as a Japanese-American in southern California, as a combat surgeon in battle, as a prisoner of war, and as a doctor responsible for research on "*pika** babies."

*a Japanese euphemism for the atomic bombing. The word is usually used to describe something bright and flashing.

Read the following excerpts from Dr. Hachiya's diary and Dr. Yamazaki's memoir. Discuss the following questions in your group. Be prepared to share summaries of your answers with the rest of the class.

1. Why are the two authors writing about their personal experiences? What are their motivations?
2. In what respects do these doctors differ from each other, e.g., culturally? professional interest in the bombings? personal interest in the bombings?
3. What can you infer regarding impressions the doctors have of each other's countries?
4. What inner conflicts in the authors appear within the excerpts in regard to the atomic bombing and its aftereffects?
5. What inner conflicts in the authors appear within the excerpts in regard to their citizenship or loyalty to their countries?

Choose one of the following activities to complete. Prepare to present your activity to the rest of the class.

1. Imagine that you are a reporter for CNN doing a piece about the

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different reactions to the atomic bomb. You have been assigned to interview Dr. Hachiya and Dr. Yamazaki for the article. Based on the knowledge you have acquired from reading the excerpts, develop a list of intriguing questions that you would want to ask the two doctors.

2. Suppose Dr. Hachiya and Dr. Yamazaki were to meet at a medical conference in Japan many years after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Write a dialogue between Dr. Hachiya and Dr. Yamazaki of what you envision them discussing. How have the years changed them? Do they still hold the same thoughts about the bomb?
3. Like Dr. Yamazaki, some second-generation Americans feel that they do not have a home country. Other Americans may see them as outsiders and people in the home country of their parents may see them as Americans. Imagine yourself traveling for the first time to the home country of one of your ancestors who immigrated to the United States. Write a short story describing your reactions and feelings in this country for the first few days.

Hiroshima Diary: The Journal of a Japanese Physician, August 6–September 30, 1945 Fifty Years Later

By Michihiko Hachiya, M.D. Translated and edited by Warner Wells, M.D.

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7 August 1945

All day I had listened to visitors telling me about the destruction of Hiroshima and the scenes of horror they had witnessed. I had seen my friends wounded, their families separated, their homes destroyed. I was aware of the problems our staff had to face, and I knew how bravely they struggled against superhuman odds. I knew what the patients had to endure and the trust they put in the doctors and nurses, who, could they know the truth, were as helpless as themselves.

By degrees my capacity to comprehend the magnitude of their sorrow, to share with them the pain, frustration, and horror became so dulled that I found myself accepting whatever was told me with equanimity and a detachment I would have never believed possible.

In two days I had become at home in this environment of chaos and despair.

I felt lonely, but it was an animal loneliness. I became part of the darkness of the night. There were no radios, no electric lights, not even a candle. The only light that came to me was reflected in flickering shadows made by the burning city. The only sounds were the groans and sobs of the patients. Now and then a patient in delirium would call for his mother, or the voice of one in pain would breathe out the word *craino*—"the pain is unbearable; I cannot endure it!"

What kind of a bomb was it that had destroyed Hiroshima? What had my visitors told me earlier? Whatever it was, it did not make sense....

One thing was certain—Hiroshima was destroyed; and with it the army that had been quartered in Hiroshima. Gone were headquarters, gone the command post of the Second General Army and the Military School for young people, the General Headquarters for the Western Command, the Corps of Engineers, and the Army Hospital. Gone was the hope of Japan! The war was lost! No more help would come from the gods!

15 August 1945

This was the day for the broadcast.

Despite my resolve to avoid speculation or conjecture I succumbed to a personal debate and finally concluded that the broadcast would announce an enemy invasion on our shores. General headquarters would order us to fight to the bitter end. What a hopeless situation.

I could escape to the hills, but what route should I take? To follow the Sanyo Line would be dangerous. The safest bet would be to follow the Hamada or Geibi Line into the Chugoku Mountains. I had friends in many of the little mountain towns: Miyoshi, Shobara, Seijo, Tojo, Uji, Yoshii. It would be best, perhaps, to go to Uji where my son had been evacuated or to Yoshii where my mother was living, but what difference did it make? More than once I had heard Dr. Akiyama, my old friend who participated in the Shansii operation, say that the side which escaped to the mountains lost the war.

The army had been losing the war since April. Many soldiers had no guns and morale was bad. Only children and old people were permitted to leave the cities, and among those who remained all under forty were assigned to the civil defense corps. In case of emergency we would all be drafted. Our comments and actions were watched by the military police and during recent months their domination had become more and more oppressive. In areas designated as fire lanes or escape channels the houses had been ruthlessly destroyed.

Everything had gone wrong, and now, an enemy was to land in Japan. The mere thought made me feel sick.

Hiroshima was destroyed, and here we were working our hearts out to sustain life in the ruins. We had no army barracks and no army. The army had escaped and deserted us. Even the few soldiers left to police the area deserted their posts every time an air-raid alarm sounded. Many hid behind the hospital....

Word came to assemble in the office of the Communications Bureau. A radio had been set up and when I arrived the room was already crowded. I leaned against the entrance and waited. In a few minutes, the radio began to hum and crackle with noisy static. One could hear an indistinct voice which only now and then came through clearly. I caught only one phrase which sounded something like, "Bear the unbearable." The static ceased and the broadcast was at an end.

Chief Okamoto, who had been standing by the radio, turned to us and said: "The broadcast was in the Emperor's own voice, and he has just said that we've lost the war. Until further notice, I want you to go about your duties."

I had been prepared for the broadcast to tell us to dig in and fight to the end, but this unexpected message left me stunned. It had been the Emperor's voice and he had

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read the Imperial Proclamation of Surrender! My psychic apparatus stopped working, and my tear glands stopped, too. Like others in the room, I had come to attention at the mention of the Emperor's voice, and for a while we all remained silent and at attention. Darkness clouded my eyes, my teeth chattered, and I felt cold sweat running down my back.

After a bit, I went quietly back to the hospital and got into my bed. Over and over the words "a lost battle!" rang in my ears.

The ward was quiet and silence reigned for a long time. Finally, the silence was broken by the sound of weeping. I looked around. There was no look of gallantry here, but rather, the faces of all showed expressions of despair and desperation.

By degrees people began to whisper and then to talk in low voices until, out of the blue sky, someone shouted: "How can we lose the war!"

Following this outburst, expressions of anger were unleashed.

"Only a coward would back out now!"

"There is a limit to deceiving us!"

"I would rather die than be defeated!"

"What have we been suffering for?"

"Those who died can't go to heaven in peace now!"

The hospital suddenly turned into an uproar, and there was nothing one could do. Many who had been strong advocates of peace and others who had lost their taste for war following the *pika* were now shouting for the war to continue. Now that surrender was an accomplished fact, irrefutable and final, there was no soothing the people who had heard the news. With everything lost and no fear of losing more they became desperate. I began to feel the same way—fight to the bloody end and die. Why try to live with a scarred body? Would it not be better to die for one's country and crown life with perfection rather than live in shame and disgrace?

The one word—surrender—had produced a greater shock than the bombing of our city. The more I thought, the more wretched and miserable I became....

My rounds were not professional today. I could not focus mentally on the patients' problems, but I went to each bed and did what I could to calm their fears.

"Things don't look good, but the Emperor has so ordered," I repeated to everyone I saw.

The nurses were going about duties as if nothing had happened. These innocent figures working calmly seemed to achieve an air of greatness and their presence did much to calm my feelings.

I missed the old lady who had lain near the hospital entrance, so I went to the business office and asked Mr. Sera and Mr. Kitao where she was. After a pause one of them said: "She died last night. *Ba-san* died without knowing about the surrender and we are glad she did."

I walked about for a while and then sat down on a ventilator where I could gaze out over the ruins. The night was lonely with the *obi*-like Ota River glittering

faintly as it made its tortuous way through the dark city. The pitch-black outlines of Futabayama stood out against the dark eastern sky. Even in a nation defeated, the rivers and mountains remained the same. I became overwhelmingly lonely as I experienced the emotions of defeat and thought of the future before us.

30 August 1945

I tried chiding myself for keeping the microscope when someone else could be using it effectively, but that did no good. I had fallen victim again to that disorderliness of thought that had plagued me ever since the day of the *pika*. Wrapped in meditation, I began to fear my five senses had deserted me. On the day of the bombing the only pain I felt was when my wounds were sutured. Visitors to the hospital complained that the whole place smelled terrible. I was surprised, for I could smell nothing unpleasant at all. My esthetic sense was dulled because I did not mind the filth and dirt around me or even the flies and mosquitoes which ordinarily annoyed me intensely. My sense of taste had been dulled for a while but it seemed to have returned. My ears, too, had recovered for I had no difficulty understanding what was said to me and at times they seemed almost too sensitive. Perhaps it was a sixth sense that had kept me going when my others, like my powers of visual discrimination, failed me....

11 September 1945

When I was filled with faith in the certainty of victory and when I was working with thoughts only for the Emperor, nothing was precious. I had felt this way when my home in Okayama was destroyed early in July. Many of our family treasures had been sent there from Hiroshima for safe-keeping because I thought Okayama would be safer than Hiroshima. When everything was lost, I did not fret for a moment. I believed I had been relieved of a heavy burden. The loss of the family Buddhist altar failed to stir any sense of remorse. Its loss left me free to go wherever I wished and each new place I might wish to visit could be my home. This attitude was engendered by the feeling that one should sacrifice everything for his country out of patriotism. Surely, our ancestors and our children would excuse us for such an attitude.

Now things had changed. Since the *pika* we had all become desperate and our fight was the fight of defeat even if we had to fight on stones. Our homes and our precious family possessions were no longer meaningless, but now they were gone. Mr. Shiota remarked that even though his home was half ruined, a home was still a home. I felt lonesome and alone because I no longer had even a home....

30 September 1945

In the afternoon, we were visited by two groups of

soldiers. The first group I took on a tour of the hospital. They made a minute examination of everything I called to their attention. One of this group had apparently been a schoolteacher because each time I tried to speak to him in broken English he would take pains to correct my pronunciation and usage. The second group had a Japanese-American interpreter whose family had come from Tanna. With this group, I stayed in our improvised drawing room and talked through the interpreter. One of the men stood at the window, looking out over the ruins and, at length, said through the interpreter:

"There must be dead still in the ruins, and I have the feeling that if the ruins aren't removed and the bodies disposed of, ill will between both countries will be prolonged. What is your opinion?"

"I agree with you," I answered. "I hear you are using a useful machine in Kure to clean up the ruins, a 'bulldozer,' I think it is called. Couldn't you have one sent to help us clean up the city? Otherwise, I am sure those who were injured and those who lost relatives and friends will be continually reminded of the day they

were bombed and hate you when they come back to Hiroshima."

"It's out of the question," the officer replied. "America can't afford to send such equipment in here now. What are your thoughts regarding the bombing?"

"I am a Buddhist," I replied, "and since childhood have been taught to be resigned in the face of adversity. I have lost my home and my wealth, and I was wounded, but disregarding this, I consider it fortunate my wife and I are alive. I am grateful for this even though there was someone to die in every home in my neighborhood."

"I can't share your feelings," the officer replied, sternly. "If I were you, I'd sue the country."

The officer stood a while longer and gazed out the window. Finally, he and his party departed. After he had gone, I told my friends what he said.

"Sue the country! Sue the country!" I repeated, over and over, to myself. But no matter how many times I repeated it, and however hard I thought, the statement was altogether incomprehensible.

Children of the Atomic Bomb: An American Physician's Memoir of Nagasaki, Hiroshima, and the Marshall Islands

By James N. Yamazaki with Louis B. Fleming

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Born in America

My father and mother were born in Japan, but I was a native Californian with a total sense of belonging to America. My brothers and sister and I always thought of ourselves as Americans. I recited the Pledge of Allegiance with commitment and fervor as I worked my way up to Eagle Scout. I sang "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty." Our family celebrated Thanksgiving with turkey and all the fixings, even if we felt a little distant from the culture of the Pilgrims and Plymouth Rock.

Yet, through all those years of growing up, when I had no doubt that I was indeed an American, I was inevitably called a Japanese by the population at large. Ironically, when I came to Japan for the first time at the age of thirty-three, the Japanese had no doubt about who I was. I was not one of them. I was an American.

That paradox touched the lives of everyone in my family. My father had been denied citizenship under the racist American immigration laws, but his love and support for the United States did not flag, even when he was forced into a relocation camp during World War II. Such was his patriotic fervor that he was beaten in the relocation camp by frustrated parents because he urged their Japanese-American sons to enlist in the U.S. Army.

My military service would have been in jeopardy had not my army commission arrived a week before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. My application for military service had been filed shortly after beginning my medical studies, but there was a long delay while the War Department sought to verify my citizenship.

As a child, because of my father's citizenship, I had been given dual Japanese and American citizenship. But my father clarified my status as an American citizen by renouncing the Japanese citizenship of his children in 1932. He never explained his decision. I am sure that, essentially, he wanted to demonstrate his commitment to raise his children as American citizens; it may also have reflected his misgivings about the growing militarism in Japan.

The army conducted a lengthy investigation before confirming my claim of American citizenship. Had the result been delayed another week, I would have found myself, like so many other Japanese Americans, a person without a country. In the reaction to the Japanese attack on the United States, rules were adopted in Washington to deny the rights of citizenship to those of Japanese ancestry, although similar rules were rarely enacted

against Americans tracing their ancestry to the other two enemy nations, Germany and Italy....

To Japan at Last

Aki [Dr. Yamazaki's wife], with five-month-old Paul in her arms, stood beside me at the rail of the *President Cleveland*, staring west, until finally we could make out the silhouette of land—Japan. We had at last reached the land of our ancestors.

My feelings were mixed. I was excited at the prospect of seeing Japan, of being involved in the groundbreaking research on the effects of the atomic bombs. But I felt the uncertainty of being less than fluent in the language, of knowing none of the officials with whom I would be working, of being truly American, not Japanese, a stranger in the land of my roots. I did not know at that moment how justified my feeling of uncertainty would prove to be....

Through Guileless Eyes

I needed to know more about the impact of the bomb on the children. The description from the doctors' panel at University Hospital said much about the trauma that everyone had suffered in terms of separation, loss, radiation, and death. But, as a pediatrician, I knew that much more had to be understood if we were to capture the full impact on young people.

Dr. Shirabe responded to my concern with a quick reference. "I know just the person for you to talk to," he said. He was right. It was to be one of the most compelling interviews I had in all my time in Nagasaki.

I was directed to a tiny shack, constructed of scrap metal and old pieces of wood, on a hillside. There, on a simple bed, lay Dr. Takashi Nagai. His makeshift shelter was like many that still covered areas of Nagasaki four years after the bomb. In the aftermath of that attack, there had been eighty thousand homeless.

Dr. Nagai could not come to any meetings at the hospital. He was suffering from leukemia, possibly brought on by radiation exposure before the bomb while working as an assistant professor of radiology, but almost certainly complicated by massive radiation exposure on August 9. He was with Dr. Shirabe at the hospital when the bomb detonated, and he had been seriously cut by flying glass. Dr. Shirabe had sutured the stubbornly bleeding blood vessel behind Dr. Nagai's ear as they fled to the hills hours after the bombing.

Dr. Nagai's two children were with their grandparents in the countryside when the bomb fell, and survived. His wife was killed, and their home demolished, so he had made this shack to shelter himself and the two surviving children....

As I sat beside him in the shack, he told me how he had come to seek those recollections of the children:

"So much of the story told by the survivors is so incredible that the reality of a nuclear explosion might be more believable if told through the voices of the children themselves, telling us what they saw through their guileless eyes, and how they simply felt as the world they knew suddenly was shattered."

He asked the children at the nearby Yamazato Elementary School, the few who had survived, to tell their stories. They were his neighbors, classmates of his children. The little ones told their stories to teachers. The older ones wrote down their stories.

Fujio Tsujimoto was five and enjoying the playground when he heard a distant airplane.

"I grabbed my grandmother by the hand and ran toward the shelter. 'Enemy plane!' yelled the watchman on the roof of the school building as he struck the bell. 'Look out!' People on the playground came running straight for the shelter. But at that moment, flash, I was blown against the wall by the force of the explosion.

"After a while," he continued, "I peered from out of the shelter. I found people scattered all over the playground. The ground was covered almost entirely with bodies. Most of them looked dead and lay still. Here and there, however, some were thrashing their legs or raising their arms. Those who were able to move came crawling into the shelter. Soon the shelter was crowded with the wounded. Around the school all the town was on fire. My house also was burning fiercely.

"My brother and sisters were late in coming into the shelter; so they were burnt and crying....Half an hour later my mother appeared at last. She was covered with blood....I will never forget how happy I was as I clung to my mother. We waited and waited for Father, but he never appeared....Even those who had survived died in agony one after another. My younger sister died the next day. My mother, she also died the next day. And then my older brother. I thought I would die, too, because the people around me lying beside each other in the shelter were dying one by one. Yet, because my grandmother and I had been in the deepest part of the shelter, we apparently had not been exposed to the radiation and in the end we were saved."

I read on.

About a dying mother who somehow summoned superhuman strength to lift a beam that a group of men could not budge, and by so doing freed her baby daughter even as the fires burned closer.

About the bewilderment of children who had been sent to the safety of the countryside, and coming home after the bomb, found nothing....

And I began to hear stories myself....

This anecdotal material served me in two ways. Perhaps most importantly, I was inspired to move quickly to get the research program operational in Nagasaki. As a pediatrician, it was reassuring to move beyond statistics and be dealing with real people, people who needed all the help and understanding we could provide. The case histories also served to underscore the importance of keeping our work open to change, for there was no way to predict where our findings would lead us.

I had a personal commitment to the research on the children who were in their mothers' wombs when the bomb detonated. I did not know then how helpful that research would prove in understanding the forces of the bombs themselves. But it was already clear that we needed to look carefully at all the survivors, including those children who had been caught in the radiation, for we knew very, very little at that time about the effects of radiation on adults and children, let alone the unborn....

I was committed to the challenge to extend our knowledge of the long-term effects of radiation—a challenge accepted with the fervent hope that the world would never again have to deal with the results of nuclear attack.

Lobbying and Researching

Vacation time was over the instant our train reached Los Angeles and we made our way to my parents' home in the rectory at St. Mary's Church. A plane ticket to Washington awaited. A week of meetings at the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) had already been scheduled for me. For the first time in my life, I took on the role of lobbyist, of advocate.

My primary concern in doing so was to counter the termination of the entire program in Nagasaki recommended by the AEC committee that had visited us briefly in January. And then I had to find support for the program, trusting that the second and more thorough AEC survey done in June would have established the importance of what we were doing. In the balance were all the elements of the program, including the genetic follow-up examinations and the screening of those exposed as fetuses....

Ultimately, the decision was made to continue the work, all of it, on a permanent basis. And so it is that the work continues today, a recognition that many answers may not come even in the lifetimes of the bomb survivors. I was gratified, although I suspect my own influence may have been limited. I later learned that the strongest advocate for continued research had been General Douglas MacArthur, who had been relieved three months earlier as supreme commander of the Allied powers. His recognition of the importance of our work was indeed welcome.

Had the research been terminated then, as the first AEC committee had recommended, there would have been serious repercussions. For the Japanese, it would

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have been painful beyond words, indicating our disregard for the consequences of these lethal American weapons. And for the rest of the world, so troubled and uncertain about the effects of this new weapon, it would have been seen as an unforgivable lost opportunity....

Farewell in Hiroshima

So I came back to Hiroshima, where the age of atomic warfare had dawned forty-four years before. I came back with my mind crammed with everything I had learned in forty years of intensive study of the effects of the atomic bombs, yet realizing how much more I still needed to know.

I came because Hiroshima, apparently, is the most important center in the world for research on what the bombs meant in the lives and the deaths of those targeted in August 1945. And I came to talk with the survivors of the first atomic bomb attack, to hear how the years after the bomb had been for them and for their children.

Like the working pediatrician, I was stepping from the laboratory into the examining room. I had read the laboratory reports and the X rays. Now I needed to hear how the patients themselves felt.

When I came for the first time in 1949, I had only a limited opportunity to see Hiroshima. The Hiroshima to which I returned in 1989 was a new city. But it was a city that had wisely retained a stark reminder of its past. The skeleton of a building, part of it stripped to the bare bones of its steel frame by the searing force of the bomb, overlooks Peace Park at the hypocenter....

In the clinics for survivors I was able again to be in contact with those the bomb had most affected. But I was no longer seeing the little boy of five who had been irradiated while in his mother's womb on that August day, whose reduced head size and subnormal mental capacity I had observed in 1951. Now I was seeing the forty-five-year-old, middle-aged and still facing an uncertain future....

When I was speaking to a high school class recently about my experiences, one of the students asked me what I thought about the bomb and nuclear energy.

"Should we have dropped the bomb?"

I learned the brutality of conventional warfare in the Ardennes. I understand the military calculations that must have anticipated an Allied amphibious assault on Japan, the estimates of tens of thousands of American casualties. Many of my medical school classmates were poised at advance bases in Okinawa, the Philippines, and Iwo Jima for the invasion of Japan. They and their

families received news of the bomb and the ensuing peace with a sense of unqualified relief.

There may have been other calculations of which I knew, and know, nothing. There are those who are convinced that American leaders knew the collapse of Japan was imminent but unleashed the bombs as the best way to test their effects. There are others who believe that the emperor steadfastly resisted surrender or peace negotiations until after the bombs were dropped.

But I now also know, beyond any doubt or uncertainty, what an atomic bomb can do. I know the measure of its human toll. So I answer the question of the high school student this way:

If they knew what we know now about what an atomic bomb can do, it would have been the wrong thing to do.

Knowing what we know now, we cannot condone the use of nuclear weapons.

"Radiation is a wonderful and life-saving tool in modern medicine," I recently told a friend, thinking of all the diagnostic and treatment applications that were part of my own pediatrics practice.

Every thought, every judgment is colored, however, by the knowledge of the destructive power of the atom.

As I left Hiroshima the next day, I could not erase the memory of Mrs. Kondo, cut off from her only daughter, a daughter so damaged by the bomb that she can only be a sister to her own children....

I thought of the uncertainties that are the inheritance of all the children of the atomic bomb in Japan—

Couples coming together in marriage, bravely concealing their exposure or the exposure of their parents to the bombs, but never able to forget the fear of genetic damage that might be revealed with the birth of a child, or a grandchild, or a great-grandchild.

The *hibakusha*, often the victims of shocking discrimination, yet patiently participating in the endless research, unwitting sentinels warning the world that the deleterious consequences of an atomic blast extend beyond the instant casualties to lifetimes of uncertainty.

I thought of that little boy, so long ago, whose head size and behavior said so much about the power of a bomb.

And Akihiro Takahashi, the fourteen-year-old in the schoolyard in Hiroshima, who told me, forty-four years later, that he still hears the cry of his friend, "Help me, help me," and the cries of others he could not help.

"Do not forget us, Dr. Yamazaki." That was what Mrs. Kondo said, just before she drove off in her small car.

How could I?

AMERICAN ATOMIC BOMB SURVIVORS

Approximately 3,000 Americans of Japanese descent were living in Hiroshima on the day of the atomic bombing.¹ In fact, there are currently as many as 1,000 persons in the United States, mostly in California, who were present at Hiroshima or Nagasaki when the first atomic bombs were dropped. Neither the U.S. nor Japanese governments have recognized their existence as victims of the atomic bombings, and both governments have refused to alleviate the medical and political problems of the survivors.² Below is an account reprinted from *The Paper Crane* (Spring 1983) of one of these Americans who was in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. While reading this account, think of the types of conflicts these victims felt as American victims of the atomic bombing. On the next few pages, you will find letters written to the President of the United States by another American survivor, Kanji Kuramoto. Read these letters as well as the reply from Edward M. Featherstone, Country Officer for the Office of Japanese Affairs, Department of State.

Jack Dairiki, now a San Francisco architect, says his family treated radiation burns with a poultice of mashed potatoes. Dairiki is a second-generation Californian whose grandparents owned the old Main Hotel in downtown Sacramento, and his story is a typical one. In August 1941, young Jack sailed with his father on the last passenger cruise ship to make the run to Japan. Not being able to return easily, they decided to sit out the war where they were.

Other Americans who witnessed those first days of the nuclear age were in Japan because life in California had become very harsh. During the war 110,000 Japanese-Americans were moved from their homes and businesses and held in ten detention camps in the United States. Some were released to join the "Go for Broke" 442nd Regimental Combat Team, made up entirely of young Japanese-American men and destined to become the most decorated unit for its size in army history. Others were allowed to leave the camps to join relatives they had never met, only to be hit by the bomb.

On that morning he was to have been in the middle of Hiroshima, but the train was late, so 14-year-old Jack was still outside the town, standing with some other boys, when they saw the light and felt the blast. Unfortunately, they had been told only what to expect from a conventional bomb:

We were trained to duck, and cover our eyes with four fingers so the vacuum wouldn't suck our eyeballs out. But I was knocked down,

¹ Rintaro Sodei, *Were We the Enemy? American Survivors of Hiroshima* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998) p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, inside jacket cover.

activity #4

probably by the blast, and dust was all around me like fog. Over the city fire was circling like a tornado. It was quite beautiful in a way....

About 3 o'clock (in the afternoon) we saw people coming from the city walking like ghosts, with their skin hanging down in flaps.

Speaking to Japanese A-bomb survivors in Japan, one hears that their first reactions included rage against the pilots, or the U.S. government, or the Japanese military men who were also willing to sacrifice civilian lives. Among American-born survivors, however, first reactions were different. Some say they were profoundly "embarrassed" because it was fellow Americans who dropped the bombs. Others felt childish hope: Did this mean the war was over and they could go home now? And there was confusion, an emotion that persists in various forms to this day: "If my cousin is dead in front of me and I am burned in the face, and this is called a victory for America, does that mean I am the enemy?"

They were, after all, mostly American kids, as Jack Dairiki says, caught in the middle: "Our American-made radio was confiscated (by the Japanese police). One of my (American-born) friends was jailed in his relatives' village. Whenever I saw a U.S. plane go over, inside myself I rooted for it."

After reading the account of Jack Dairiki and the letters by Kanji Kuramoto and Edward M. Featherstone, consider the following:

1. Discuss Jack Dairiki's and Kanji Kuramoto's perspectives as Americans of Japanese descent living in Hiroshima during the atomic explosion.
2. Discuss the reply from Edward M. Featherstone. What do you think of the fact that the reply came from the Office of Japanese Affairs, Department of State, though Kanji Kuramoto is an American?
3. Write a letter of inquiry to Jack Dairiki or Kanji Kuramoto.

Note: Jack Dairiki is an active member of Friends of Hibakusha. This organization is a support organization for Japanese-American survivors of the atomic bomb. *Hibakusha* means "explosion-affected person(s)." It is usually translated into English as "survivor," but that term (*seizonsha* in Japanese) is seldom used in Hiroshima because it emphasizes the idea of being alive. Hibakusha, however, are all people, dead or alive, who were exposed to the Hiroshima or Nagasaki atomic bombings. The term includes those who were directly at the hypocenter or as far away as 5,000 meters, those who were in the city at any time from August 6 or 9 until 14 days later, even those who came in physical contact with other hibakusha while giving them care or disposing of their bodies. It also includes the babies who were present in utero at the bombings while still inside their mother's wombs.³

³ Description taken from *The Paper Crane*, Volume I, Number 1, Spring 1983, a publication of the Friends of Hibakusha.

In your letter, consider the following:

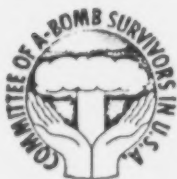
- What questions do you have for American survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima or Nagasaki?
- What questions do you have about the organization, Friends of Hibakusha?
- Do you have any comments or specific questions for Jack Dairiki or Kanji Kuramoto regarding their perspectives as American atomic bomb survivors?
- Do you think the U.S. government should assist the American atomic bomb survivors?

Letters should be sent to:

Mr. Jack Dairiki
2720 Buena Vista Avenue
Walnut Creek, CA 94596

Mr. Kanji Kuramoto
1109 Shell Gate Place
Alameda, CA 94501

4. Share a summary of your discussion and letter with the rest of the class.



米 国 原 爆 被 爆 者 協 会

COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC BOMB SURVIVORS
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1109 SHELL GATE PLACE
ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA 94501

September 22, 1977

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

With all my heart, I respect you as the most honest, sincere and humane statesman in this world. I especially have a high regard for your major theme to protect human rights. I am wishing and praying that this appeal will reach you and you will sympathize and give a little aid to these forgotten, ignored, suffering American citizens. They are the HIBAKUSHA (Atomic bomb) survivors and are the unfortunate stepchildren of war and politics, doomed to pain and misfortune until they die.

I was born in Hawaii and went to Japan with my mother and brothers to visit my sick grandparents. We returned to the United States after the war. Because of this trip, the course of my life changed for I was in Hiroshima two days after the bombing.

Although the bombing happened 32 years ago, I still remember it--like a terrible nightmare--in vivid detail. There are no words to describe the devastation and "HELL" of that experience.

I searched for my "lost" father for two weeks, and during that time I saw countless victims dying. The indescribably horrendous scenes are engraved forever in my memory.

For all these many years since my return to the United States, I have tried to erase or ignore this tragedy from my life and, to some degree, succeeded. Yet, a catastrophe of this magnitude never fades. Four years ago, talking with Committee members at Los Angeles, I learned that in the United States there are still many victims suffering from radiation effects who are without any aid or support. Why are the A-Bomb survivors so completely ignored? Most of them are American citizens!

Many of the American-born Japanese (NISEI) were attending school in Japan when the war broke out and were obliged to remain there until after the war. Many other NISEI had returned to Japan with their Japanese immigrant (ISSEI) parents immediately before the war due to anticipated "precautionary" measures that eventually resulted in the placement of West Coast Japanese Americans in relocation camps. Of those NISEI who returned to Japan, many were residing in Hiroshima. The healthiest of American survivors returned to the United States; however, most of them, subsequently, have been in poor health.

The President

-2-

September 22, 1977

The survivors--traumatized by the bombing--were bitter for a long time. Some hated America for having caused the suffering, but after long years this bitterness has changed to a fierce sense of dedication to work for peace.

Life must go on. The Japanese American survivors want to forget what has happened and live as normally as possible. Americans do not want to be reminded of the effects of the bombing, and have done much to help the A-Bomb survivors in Japan, paying for most of the medical research and treatment of victims for many years.

After the termination of world War II, and from 1947, based on the Science and Medical Survey Team's recommendation, the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council organized the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission to commence scientific research activities in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Our government has spent more than \$80 million for this A.B.C.C. (renamed the Radiation Effects Research Foundation in April 1975). Because R.E.R.F. is a research organization, medical treatment is as a rule received at an institution of medical care. R.E.R.F., however, contributes to medical care directly as well as indirectly toward A-Bomb survivors in Japan.

As an American, I am proud of R.E.R.F. and its research and studies on the medical effects of radiation on man and on diseases which may be affected by radiation, with a view to contributing to the maintenance of the health and welfare of atomic bomb survivors and to the enhancement of the health of all mankind. R.E.R.F. has been carrying out health examinations of atomic bomb survivors in Japan, but not for victims in the United States who are American citizens.

Fortunately, the survivors in Japan are provided free medical check-ups, treatments, and disability payments by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. About 365,000 survivors are recipients of these benefits. This aid is not for American survivors--even those who were relocated to this country after the war, becoming naturalized United States citizens. Ironically, the survivors of the atomic bomb living in the United States have been left out. We can only surmise that our government has ignored them.

After many appeals for aid by these survivors began to surface, the Atomic Energy Commission requested the Oak Ridge National Laboratory to seek out American survivors. The 1976 report of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory documents the existence of atomic bomb survivors in the United States and relates the varying degrees of exposure suffered by these victims. Those who received high doses of exposure to radiation, such as 490 to 510 rads, have a real need to receive treatment by medical experts. As a nuclear engineer, I am sure you realize the effects of massive radiation to human beings.

There are an estimated 1,000 survivors of the atomic bomb residing in the United States today. Of this number, only about 400 can be located. Many American victims have been unwilling to declare themselves, because of the "stigma" attached to their condition. Many have employment problems, difficulty in obtaining health or life insurance, unable to marry, face a shortened life expectancy, or have to deal with genetic damage which varies with the doses of radiation received. Survivors suffer combinations of serious diseases, including leukemia, cancer, genetic disorders, and many other radiation-related diseases.

The President

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September 11, 1977

Last March, by a special request from our Committee, a Japanese medical mission came here on a private basis, to conduct health consultations by meeting with American survivors, individually, in order to assess the situation and, if possible, to contribute to the improvement of their health and welfare. The fund was provided by the Japanese government and their medical doctors. It was a fulfillment of a long dream to finally be able to have someone understand the victims' feelings. We really thank the Japanese government for this humane aid. It is our understanding that the Japanese medical mission will be here again next March.

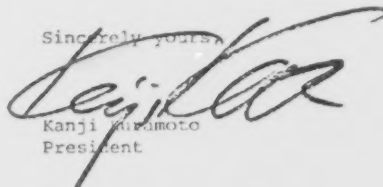
Billions of dollars are used to produce weapons like the H-bomb, N-bomb, poison gas and chemical bombs to kill and destroy human beings. The American survivors are requesting a very small amount of those funds to ease their agonies. The issue is not whether the bomb should have been dropped--or whether the United States should help only the Japanese survivors of the bombings--the issue is whether the American government can assist a small number of American survivors living today.

We express our gratitude to Congressmen Edward R. Roybal and Norman Mineta and 25 other Congressmen for introducing bills HR 5150 and HR 8440, which authorize the reimbursement of medical expenses to survivors who are citizens or lawful residents of this country. We hope the bills become law. We respectfully request your support to this human rights legislation.

The Great Charter of Health (World Health Organization, 1946) states that health is a human being's natural right. It says that physical, mental, and social fitness, and not merely the absence of sickness, is man's natural right and that it is our duty to create such a condition. Many of us never know chronic pain. For those who do, for whom pain becomes a way of life, it is a terrible burden.

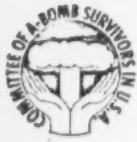
I am appealing to you to aid these people in the spirit of true love.
Thank you.

Sincerely yours,



Kanji Kuramoto
President

cc: Hon. Edward R. Roybal
Hon. Norman Y. Mineta
Hon. George E. Danielson



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COMMITTEE OF ATOMIC BOMB SURVIVORS
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1109 SHELL GATE PLACE
ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA 94501

January 11, 1978

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Attached is my letter to obtain your humane support for these American HIBAKUSHA (atomic bomb survivors), who are the forgotten, unfortunate, suffering stepchildren of war and politics. Three months have passed since I sent the letter. As an American citizen, I am expecting your letter with great hope. Please do not ignore the poor Americans, doomed to pain and misfortune until they die.

I am, especially, writing to you again for your personal help to accomplish a second medical mission from Japan. I have enclosed a copy of "Result of health survey in Atomic Bomb survivors residing in California". It explains the detail of the first medical mission. It was a fulfillment of a long dream come true to finally be able to have someone understand the victims' feelings. We express our gratitude to the Japanese medical group and government for this humane aid.

In undertaking the enormous tasks to obtain the second medical mission from Japan, we are faced with extremely limited resources in both manpower and fund. There is no paid staff help. Americans have a reputation for being kind, and giving aid to those in need all over the world. Please help us, and do not leave the suffering victims in the lurch.

I, however, do not want to beg for your support but I am appealing to open your heart to aid these people in the spirit of true love. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Kenji Furukawa
President

cc: Hon. Edward P. Roybal
Hon. Norman Y. Mineta
Hon. George E. Danielson



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 8, 1978

Mr. Kanji Kuramoto
President
Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors
in the United States of America
1109 Shell Gate Place
Alameda, California 94501

Dear Mr. Kuramoto:

The White House has asked me to respond to your letters to President Carter concerning your request for US Government assistance to A-bomb victims now residing in the US.

The plight of these persons is indeed unfortunate. It is gratifying to know that private American and Japanese groups have attempted to alleviate the suffering of such A-bomb victims and to contribute where possible to their health and welfare.

It has been the longstanding policy of the United States Government, however, not to pay claims, even on an ex gratia basis, arising out of the lawful conduct of military activities by US forces in wartime. This policy is based on such considerations as the absence of any legal liability and difficulties in locating, singling out and determining the relationship of the A-bomb experience to current health problems. Additionally, the very great length of time which has passed since the bombing would cause practical difficulties for any investigations.

In accordance with this longstanding policy, the United States has not, as you know, been directly involved in the treatment of those who were affected by the atomic bombs. This work has been primarily carried out by the Japanese Government and Japanese medical institutions (although private American

- 2 -

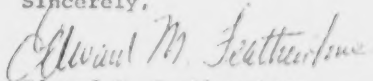
groups have sometimes assisted). The United States has also been involved in the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission and its successor organization, as you point out in your letter.

Private sources of help for US resident victims are one possible source of relief. In addition, there may be some funding available through existing public medical assistance programs. You should explore this possibility with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which may have a local representative in your area.

In addition to private sources of assistance, another possibility for financial relief would be the passage of specific legislation. As you are probably aware, Messrs. Roybal and Patterson introduced such a measure (HR 10502) in the House of Representatives last month. You should make known your views and support such legislation with others if you agree with its purposes and content.

I wish I could be more encouraging, but that is the picture regarding possible Federal assistance at the present time.

Sincerely,



Edward M. Featherstone
Country Officer for
Office of Japanese Affairs

NON-JAPANESE VICTIMS' PERSPECTIVES

Of the estimated 200,000 to 300,000 victims of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, more than a seventh were not Japanese. This group of victims included prisoners of the Allied forces, Americans of Japanese descent who had returned to Japan for their education, students from Southeast Asia, and Koreans and Chinese residents of Japan. Most of the Korean and Chinese victims had been brought to Japan to labor for Japanese war efforts. By far, the largest group of non-Japanese victims was the Korean residents of Japan.

The Korean Victims

During the period from 1910 to 1945, more than two million Koreans were either forcibly sent to Japan as workers and soldiers or left their villages following Japan's colonial takeover of the Korean Peninsula in 1910. Most worked in construction, military transport, mining, and industry. Many of them lived in slum-like conditions and longed to return to their homeland.

When the United States dropped the atomic bombs on Japan, approximately 50,000 Korean men, women, and children resided in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There were at least 20,000 to 30,000 Korean atomic bomb victims. Many Koreans lived in the poor neighborhoods near the hypocenter, and many worked outdoors where they were directly exposed to the blast and radiation. In 1978, when a sample of survivors was asked who was responsible for them being atom-bombed, 80 percent replied "Japan." In fact, some Korean survivors even believe that the bomb "liberated" them from the Japanese because following the end of the war, most Koreans repatriated to Korea.

For the most part, the Korean victims of the atomic bomb have not been recognized apart from the Japanese victims. In the past, most official declarations, either by the Japanese federal or Hiroshima and Nagasaki city governments, never referred to the Korean atomic bomb victims. Even today, the only visible reminder of these victims is in the form of a memorial for the Korean atomic bomb victims, located in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Until recently, the memorial stood in an isolated area to the west of the main section of the park. In July 1999, after a long history of controversy, the memorial was relocated to the main section of the peace park.

While the Japanese victims have readily received free medical treatment and atomic bomb victim's certificates that allow them special benefits, the Korean victims have had numerous struggles to obtain even the medical treatment they need. In 1981, after a 1978 Japanese Supreme Court ruling that acknowledged the right of a South Korean victim to receive medical treatment in Japan, the government began a five-year program to invite South Korean victims* to Japan for medical treatment. A total of 349 out of

approximately 23,000 South Korean victims sought treatment under this program. The program ended in 1986.

To further alleviate the difficulties atomic bomb victims face, the Japanese government passed the Atomic Bomb Victims Support Law in July 1995. The law entitles families of victims to a special certification that grants them a "special funeral allowance" of 100,000 yen (approximately \$1,000). The Korean victims, however, consider the law useless because the law requires that the victims process their applications for benefits in Japan and have a Japanese address, even though most of the Korean victims now reside in South Korea.

For those Korean victims residing in Japan, many express frustration at the fact that although they consider Japan their "home," the Japanese government has at times made it more difficult for them to receive the same benefits as Japanese survivors.

*After the war, approximately 23,000 Korean survivors of the atomic bombs returned to South Korea while 7,000 survivors remained in Japan.

Read the following narratives by Korean survivors of the atomic bombings. As you read, keep the following questions in mind. Discuss and answer the questions as a group, and be prepared to share summaries of your answers with the rest of the class.

- What common themes run through these narratives?
- Based on the background information provided earlier and these narratives, list the reasons why Koreans were residing in Japan in 1945. What were some of the typical livelihoods that the Koreans undertook?
- What are some of the key issues that the Koreans face as residents in Japan?
- What are some of the key issues that the Koreans face as non-Japanese victims of the atomic bombings?
- If these survivors were to approach the Japanese government today, what issues do you think they would address? Considering what you know or have read so far about the Japanese government's stance, how might it respond to the Korean survivors' demands?

activity #5

Enveloped in a Hot Black Wave

O Ul Hak, 66 years old, female, restaurant keeper; resident of Sapporo City, Japan; born in South Kyongsang Province, Korea; in Ujina, Hiroshima City, Japan, during the atomic bombing

I'm sorry I can't speak clearly. I feel sad as I can't hear well. If only I could write how much I have suffered.... Korean people, many of them, were brought to Hiroshima by ship. Hundreds and thousands of Koreans died here. Some of them died on the southern islands. Their names are unknown. The Japanese authorities ignored them. If I could go alone, I would like to cry out in a loud voice over all this. I was in Osaka at that time with my husband and three children. Japanese people, even young people, could succeed in evading drafting orders. I want to appeal to the authorities, asking them why my husband was made a draftee though he had a family. No allowance was given us for living expenses. How could we live after our breadwinner had been taken away from as a draftee? We did not live in Osaka, but went to Hiroshima.

When we came to Hiroshima, we heard that Koreans would be taken to go to the South Sea Islands. At Hiroshima, I found many Koreans being brought there every day.

They couldn't speak Japanese and so my husband was taken to Ube as an interpreter. There he was atom-bombed.

Before coming to Hiroshima, he had worked at mines in Hokkaido. I married him at the age of 20, when he was 21 years old....

My husband was ordered to join the Akatsuki unit in Hiroshima in 1942. A large number of people in the Akatsuki unit were atom-bombed.

I was atom-bombed in front of Ujina police station, Hiroshima. I had gone out to buy potatoes for my children that day. When I was in front of the police station, a street car passed. Soon after the street car passed, I saw a flash. When I looked up at the sky, I saw something shaped like an egg dropping. While falling

down, it exploded. The next moment, smoke rose high and I heard a terrific explosion. Houses were shaken violently and flattened. I remember that this all happened in a moment.... Black smoke rose.

An old woman and a man fell to the ground. I didn't fall. Something like a wind or like a wave dashed against my back from behind. Even now, I sometimes feel hot on my back. (keloids still remain in her back)

A man came out from the police station and told me to go to the square at Ujina. I said to him I had to return home in Hijiya. I walked along on the railway track to Hijiya. Electric wires were entwined like a cobweb. Avoiding them, I at last reached my home.

I found the children buried under shelves and such like, but fortunately they were not injured. Other people were seriously injured. Few people were not injured. Most had their skulls broken or had head injuries. Some were buried under the crushed houses.

I gave birth to a baby in Osaka. I saw people burnt to death by the atomic bombing in Hiroshima. My baby had eruptions all over the body and when the eruptions were crushed, the baby's body looked like that of someone killed by the bomb. In one week or 10 days the baby died. During four years (1946, 1947, 1949...), my three babies all died in such a way. My son who has graduated from Hokkaido University is the fourth to have been born after I was atom-bombed. When he was born, I thought he would die too. But he suffered from no such eruptions on his body and he has been in good health so far.

I was hospitalized in February three years ago (1977) as I suffered from kidney and liver trouble. I can't work hard now. It is all right for me as I have lived most of my life time [sic]. But, I pray that my son (the fourth son) will not suffer from radiation disease. If he should suffer from the after-effect of the atomic bomb, I shall have to carry my regrets beyond the grave. My three children died of atomic-bomb disease. I pray that at least my fourth son will survive.

I saw my babies die one after another just like the bomb victims of Hiroshima. As a woman I was ashamed of giving birth to such babies. I can't tell others that I was atom-bombed in Hiroshima. I feel as if I committed a crime. I can't tell. If I express my feelings in Korean, it will be "Kasum appuda (my heart wrings)." In fact, it wrings my heart. So far, I have tried to hide the fact. We have led a difficult life....

Japanese can live somehow as they have property or houses. However, Koreans have nothing. We don't [sic] afford even to go to try to find out what happened to our compatriots. We scrape a living from day to day. My husband went back twice, but he didn't find anyone. This meant all the Koreans there had died. If my husband was in good health, he would have come to Hiroshima to look for Korean survivors.

He used to tell me, "Even if Koreans died in such a way, their death was not recognized as 'official.' Though their parents and sisters and brothers live, no pensions are given them."

The names and addresses of Japanese soldiers were registered in municipal offices. When they died, their bereaved families received money with which to live on. We Koreans never receive such allowances.

The Korean A-bomb victims who returned to Korea, whether North or South, should be given medical treatment in Japan. Even the Japanese who entered Hiroshima City after the atomic bombing can receive bomb victim's certificates and receive medical treatment free of charge. The Japanese government should guarantee free medical treatment for the Korean A-bomb victims. In South Korea, there are many A-bomb victims who are suffering from radiation-caused illness. Their living and their medical expenses should be guaranteed by the Japanese government, too. The Japanese government should take the responsibility for those who are suffering from radiation disease. I will never allow an atomic bomb to

be dropped on my fatherland. This must not happen. People the world over will oppose it. The U.S. should assume the responsibility for dropping the atomic bomb. Why were we Koreans forced to do jobs which the Japanese refused to do?

Source: Gavan McCormack, ed., *Twice Victims: Koreans at Hiroshima*. Translated by Kang Ok Su. (Tokyo: Korean Peace Committee in Japan, 1981), pp. 4-7.

Sold as Prostitute

Kim Mal Sun (pseudonym), 60 years old, female, worker; resident of Motomachi, Hiroshima City, Japan; born in Hyopchon County, South Kyongsang Province, Korea; in Sorazaya-cho, Hiroshima City, Japan, during the atomic bombing

As "atomic bomb victims," we are all the same sufferers. However, I doubt if there can be many who have suffered as much as I. Even if I tell you about my experience now, the wounds in my heart will never heal. To tell the truth, I would much remain silent. [sic] So far, I have been asked many times by various people to speak about my experience. I said, "I was so stupid that I was deceived. It can't be helped." However, I will never forgive those who ruined my life.

It was 1937 that I was taken to Japan, when I was 18 years old. I left my homeland as I was eager to meet my mother in Japan.

For two years, or since I was 16 years old, we heard nothing from my mother after she left for Japan. I heard people say that she lived in Osaka. I didn't know where Osaka was. I was hesitating as to whether I should go to Japan or not. One day a few Japanese came to my village. They said they were recruiting female workers. I swallowed their words and made an application for the job. That was the beginning of my mistakes. But, at that time I doubted nothing because of my strong desire to see my mother. I was wheedled. They said only good things about

activity #5

my future, "You can eat well and dress well. Needless to say, you can see your mother." I fell an easy victim to their trick. I thought I could find my mother and somehow everything would be all right. Then I got aboard a Pusan-Shimonoseki ferryboat with them.

I arrived at Shimonoseki, which was a large city unlike my home town. Everything I saw there was new. Eighteen years old then, I was all curiosity....

We were given small rooms. The woman told us, "This is your work place. Work hard." She gave us clothes. Without any explanation on our job, she ordered us to take bath and make up heavily.

I was foolish enough to find for the first time then that it was a brothel. I knew then that I was deceived, but it was too late.

My cruel and inhuman life continued at the licensed prostitution quarters until I was 22 years old. I attempted to flee from there several times. But I was unable to get out because of the strict watch on us....

It was because of the kindness of a compatriot I was able to come to Hiroshima after I was liberated from my miserable life. I was 22 years old. I married this man, who had five children and knew happiness for the first time since coming to Japan. I worked hard to bring up these children, helping my husband.

I did all kinds of work, from peddling and scrap iron gathering to work on construction sites. These were all hard jobs. However, I was happy and the work was rewarding, compared with my past job. I felt happy when I was called "omoni [mother in Korean]" by the children, though they were not my own. These were moments of unforgettable job in my life. [sic]

However, such a happy life did not continue for a long time. The happiness I finally got after many years of miserable life was taken away from me by the atomic bombing in a flash. On that day 34 years ago, I was atom-bombed in a row of houses near the Sorazaya Bridge, 700 metres from the hypocenter.

Early in the morning that day, my husband went out leaving us at home while he looked at another house we were thinking of renting. The house we lived in was at the end of an alley. Air-raids continued in those days, we thought if a bomb was dropped there, we had no escape. So, my husband went out to find a house with open space in the neighborhood.

My husband was atom-bombed while outside. He was badly burnt all over his body and he was hardly recognizable. He died a painful death in 15 days. Two of my children, who had been playing outside, also died. My three other children and I narrowly escaped death. My back bone is still bent. It was because I was buried under a fallen house and a heavy pillar struck my head and my back. So, I can't work now. I live on a small livelihood protection allowance and a health care allowance. My three children who survived returned to their homeland. Now I live alone and lonely.

In the past 34 years after the war, I don't know how many times I attempted to kill myself. "For what purpose do I live?" This thought haunted me.

I have lived a difficult life. I had to strain myself doing work on construction sites like a man in order to earn an income. I was hospitalized once because of uterine cancer. That was my only hospitalization. I didn't have enough money to think of going to hospital. [sic] The Japanese government has done nothing for me.

Source: Gavan McCormack, ed., *Twice Victims: Koreans at Hiroshima*. Translated by Kang Ok Su. (Tokyo: Korean Peace Committee in Japan, 1981), pp. 25-27.

Japanese Didn't Regard Us as Human Beings

Nam Ki Ho (pseudonym), 70 years old, male, unemployed; resident of Motomachi, Hiroshima City, Japan; born in Kosong County, South Kyongsang Province, Korea; in Yokogawa-cho, Hiroshima City, Japan, during the atomic bombing

I was born in 1908 in Kosong County, South Kyongsang Province. My father was a poor farmer. I was the second of three brothers. I had never eaten enough since my childhood. I was unable to attend school. I helped my father, and nursed neighbors' babies to earn some money....

When I was 19 years old, my elder brother (four years older than I) who was working in Tokyo, returned home for marriage. I decided to go to Japan with him.

It was the last day of 1927 that I arrived at Hiroshima where my cousin lived. I was unable to speak Japanese and I felt forlorn, not knowing what I could do. I worked in a factory at Funeiri-cho on the recommendation of my cousin.

I had a lot of trouble as I was unable to speak Japanese well. The work was hard but I saved money. When I was 25 years old, I returned home to get married.

I married a girl, 17 years old, whom my parents had decided should be my wife. I went back to Japan with my relative and two of my remote kinsman. One year later, my wife came to Japan. Next year she gave birth to our eldest son. Our life was difficult but I worked hard for my family. When the war situation grew worse, many Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan as labor draftees. I was drafted for forced labor.

I did the work of transporting ammunition from the port of Ujina, Hiroshima, to Manchuria. As I was tall, my work was to lift ammunition boxes. I was clubbed if I made a noise when I lifted up an ammunition box. I lost consciousness for two or three hours. I did nothing for nearly three weeks. We were half-killed when we complained. It is a wonder that I am alive now....

I was 37 years old on August 6, 1945. I was atom-bombed near the Yokogawa Bridge, Yokogawa-cho. I was making a raft for military use. I was carrying timbers for ships. There were Japanese and Korean compatriots among my fellow workers—more than 10 in all. Those who had been working under the

bridge survived. The two overseers on the bridge didn't die there, but the skin of their backs was peeled off as they stood there looking toward the west. Ten years after the bombing, they died. At that moment, I was working under the bridge. When I saw the flash, I found myself in the river. But I was not injured. For three or five minutes I could see nothing. After a while, it became little lighter around me, as if the day was dawning. Sand, stones, and pieces of wood fell. I didn't know what happened. I crawled up from the river. I was unable to move for a while on the bridge. Houses were crushed and I found nothing for a guide. I didn't get burnt but it felt hot as if I were on a frying pan. In a little while, fires arose and spread around me. Some people fled, calling my name. I didn't recognize them. Some were badly burnt and some blackened. As I was worried about my home I tried to return home. However, I didn't go ahead because the buildings in Hirose Kita-machi were in flames. I fled to Mt. Koi. In the evening I came down the mountain and went to Eba where a relative of mine lived. My two children were there. I assumed that my wife and my two other children had died. The relative also thought that I had died.

On the evening of the next day, my wife came to the relative's house at Eba with my two younger children. We were happy to meet again and hugged each other. They were able to survive because they had gone out for picking mugwort. In the Korean village where we lived there were about 30–40 families. Families of about five members lived there in six-mat rooms. Only 10 percent of the people who were living there had survived. At the time, we had not gone into Hirose Kita-machi where my house was located because the town was on fire. Three days later, we went there and found our house was flattened. Nothing remained. Then we returned to Eba and stayed there. I looked for a job here and there. I sold fish and rice in the black market. I managed to earn some money by gathering

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iron scraps.

I got an atomic bomb victim's certificate in 1965. We Korean victims had never thought of getting a certificate before then. No one told us about the certificate. I attended a university hospital as I was not in good health. My legs were bad. The director of the hospital told me, "Something is wrong with you. Were you atom-bombed?" I answered, "Yes, I was." He said, "Why don't you have an A-bomb victim's certificate?" I asked him, "Can a Korean get a certificate?" He didn't know and so he asked the Bomb Victims' Center about it. Then, I knew for the first time that Koreans could get certificates. The director of the hospital prepared necessary documents for me. Till then, I had been spending all the money I earned to pay the doctor's fees.

Today, city authorities are beginning to pay attention to us, but previously they did nothing for us.

During the war, we were forced to work as much as the Japanese. But after the war they ignored us.

My right eye is sightless and the visual power of my left eye is only 0.1. When I had my eyes treated by eight eye clinics, one doctor used strong language, "You are lucky. You can receive treatment free of charge as

you are in Japan." Another doctor, who treated my eye, asked me, "Don't you know a Korean doctor?" when I told him that my eye ached.

I want to say to the Japanese government: We Koreans were forced to come to Japan for military service as labor draftees. And we were atom-bombed. We did everything. Yet we Koreans can get no compensation even for those who died in the war or were atom-bombed. During the war, we were told, "You Koreans are the same as the Japanese" and were forced to work hard. After the war, we were told that we were foreigners. I want to stress this point. We didn't come to Japan because we wanted. The Japanese government made our life in Korea difficult. The younger generation of Japan doesn't know why there are so many Koreans in Japan. I wish the truth could be told in Japanese schools.

Source: Gavan McCormack, ed., *Twice Victims: Koreans at Hiroshima*, Translated by Kang Ok Su. (Tokyo: Korean Peace Committee in Japan, 1981), pp. 28-30.

Background Information on the Korean Memorial

In 1970, a memorial was erected to honor the Korean victims of the atomic bombings, and placed on the periphery of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Controversy developed around the monument from its beginnings, with the Japanese city government refusing to fund the memorial on the grounds that too many memorials already existed within the park. The Korean atomic bomb survivors, however, insisted that a memorial to honor only the Korean victims be established and located in the peace park. In the end, the Korean Residents Union of Japan raised the money needed to build the memorial.

Because of its history and location, disputes continued for 29 years until July 1999, when Hiroshima city officials finally agreed to relocate the monument to join other monuments in the central section of the park. The decision to relocate the memorial came after much protest by both the Koreans and tourists from abroad. Politically, the relocation project was looked upon favorably because around the same time, Hiroshima had established a sister city relationship with the South Korean city of Taegu.

On the front of the memorial is an engraving of Chinese characters that reads, "Memorial for Korean atom bomb victims. In memory of Prince Yi Gu and the other 20,000 or more souls." Prince Yi Gu was a nephew of the last crown prince of Korea during the Yi Dynasty (1392 to 1910). The prince was killed by the bomb while serving as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Japanese Imperial Army. Some have said that the memorial was placed in its original location because the site was where the prince's body was found at the time of the bombing.

Read the following articles from Korean, Japanese, and U.S. newspapers on the Korean memorial controversy. Discuss the following questions in your group. Be prepared to share summaries of your answers with the rest of the class.

- Why is the memorial monument so significant for the Koreans in Japan?
- If the Japanese government had funded the memorial rather than the Korean Residents Union of Japan, how might the controversy be different? Do you think the wording on the memorial might be different? (Refer to the background information and the article by *The Columbus Dispatch* for the existing words on the memorial.)
- Why is it important that the Japanese prime minister paid an official visit to the Korean monument? According to the article, what promises does he offer to the Korean victims?

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- What significance do the words of the mayor of Hiroshima have on future relations between the Japanese and Korean residents of Hiroshima?
- Would it have been politically wise for a Korean government official to attend the unveiling ceremony? Why or why not?
- Interpret the following quote, taking into account what you have read about the Korean victims' memorial:

The ability to perform one's own acts of remembrance—the ability, for instance, to erect memorials, to hold public commemorations, or to write autobiographical histories—serves to reterritorialize the cartography of memory, authorizing one's past as differentiated from that of others. The act of ascribing one's own way of remembering onto a society's historical knowledge makes one's presence visible within its public sphere and assures one's voice a place in the production of discourses on the past. To possess and demonstrate one's own memories is therefore inextricably tied to power and autonomy.

Source: Lisa Yoneyama, "Memory Matters: Hiroshima's Korean Atom Bomb Memorial and the Politics of Ethnicity," *Public Culture*, July 1995, pp. 501–502.

Extension Activities

1. People plan and build memorials and monuments to honor people, places, or events. Among the most famous in the United States are the following:
 - Washington Monument
 - Lincoln Memorial
 - Vietnam Veterans Memorial
 - Mount Rushmore National Memorial
 - Korean War Memorial
 - Arlington National Cemetery

Select one of these memorials/monuments for your group. Conduct research on the chosen memorial/monument to answer the following questions:

- Where is the memorial/monument located? When was it erected?
- Who came up with the idea of the memorial/monument? Who designed/created it? Who funded it?
- What is the purpose of the memorial/monument?
- How was it determined what people and/or events should be memorialized in this manner?
- Were there or are there any controversies surrounding the establishment of the memorial/monument?

2. As a group, think of some possible memorials/monuments for your school or community or city. Who or what would you honor and why? What different perspectives would you incorporate in planning such a project?

Create a memorial/monument for your school or community or city.

Assign roles as follows:

- Designers / Architects—one to two students
- Funders/Sponsors—one to two students
- Officials from the school, community, city—one to two students
- Students from the school/members of the community/residents of the city—two to three students

Over a course of one to two school weeks, conduct several meetings with all of the above to develop the project. The topics to address in the meetings are as follows:

- Establish the objective of the memorial/monument
- Plan the project: propose a time schedule
- Review the proposal and obtain approval
- Conduct research for the project, including any interviews or surveys
- Design the memorial/monument
- Review the design and obtain approval
- Perform unveiling/dedication ceremony (group presentation to the class); students can either present the blueprint or build a model of the monument/memorial for the presentation

The Relocation of the Monument for the Korean Victims of the A-Bomb Completed

Hankook Ilbo (Korean Daily News). Reprinted with permission.

July 21, 1999

Prayers for the souls of many killed by the atomic bomb in 1945 were heard at an unveiling ceremony of a memorial monument for Korean victims of the atomic bomb, held in the Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima, Japan, on July 21, 1999.

The memorial monument is dedicated to more than 20,000 Koreans who were compulsorily drafted to work in Japan, and were killed by the atomic bomb during World War II.

More than 350 people attended the ceremony, including the mayor of Hiroshima and members of the "Korean Settlement Corporation in

Japan."

"Today, we can fulfill the earnest wish of those who had a tragic death in a foreign land," said Kwon Yang-baek, chairman of the Monument Removal Project Committee, in his address.

Japanese authorities had originally refused to have the monument for Koreans built in the peace park, although there are more than 30 monuments for Japanese victims in the park. The fact has been criticized as an act of discrimination by the Japanese against Koreans.

"We decided to move the monument into the peace park to resolve the problem that the

monument has become a symbol of racial discrimination against Koreans," said Akiba Tadatoshi, mayor of Hiroshima. After giving a full account of the relocation project, Mayor Akiba also promised that the city government will make strong efforts to do away with Japanese prejudice as soon as possible.

Erected by members of the "Korean Settlement Corporation in Japan" in 1970, the monument had been left standing alone on the west side of the river at the peace park.

Once a political issue between the two countries, the monument now has been placed in its rightful spot after being debated for 29 years.

Ethnic Koreans Mourn Victims of A-Bomb

By Tanikawa Takashi and Kayahara Kenichi

Mainichi Shimbun (Mainichi Daily News). Reprinted with permission.

August 6, 1999

HIROSHIMA—Ethnic Korean survivors of the atomic bombing of this city had to wait nearly 30 years before a cenotaph honoring compatriots who perished as a result of the blast and its aftereffects was relocated to the premises of the Peace Memorial Park here from a site across the river.

On Thursday, some 300 people, including relatives of the deceased A-bomb victims and members of the Hiroshima chapter of the Korean Residents Association in Japan (Mindan), attended a memorial service held in front of the cenotaph in the park in Hiroshima's Naka-ku.

The service was the first since the cenotaph was relocated to the park in July from its former location at a site on the other side of the Honkawa River.

The cenotaph enshrines the souls of 2,558 ethnic Korean victims of the 1945 U.S. nuclear attack on Hiroshima. That total includes the names of 31 victims whose deaths were newly confirmed over the past year and added to the register of atomic bomb victims contained in the cenotaph.

Ethnic Korean residents of the city had long demanded the relocation of the memorial, a move that many claim was blocked due to the racist attitudes of city officials.

"I used to feel as though my heart would burst when I thought of the cenotaph as it stood alone and lonely outside of the park," said Chang Teahi, the 86-year-old chairman of the committee that campaigned for the creation of the cenotaph and a blast survivor himself.

The committee, which was launched in 1967 by volunteer

members of the pro-Seoul Mindan, had initially requested the Hiroshima Municipal Government to approve the construction of the cenotaph on the grounds of the Peace Memorial Park, where many other monuments and memorial towers stand.

However, municipal officials denied their request, saying, "From the standpoint of park management, we cannot allow the construction of any new cenotaphs in the park."

The cenotaph was therefore erected in 1970 at a site opposite the park on the other side of the Honkawa River.

The committee repeatedly requested that the cenotaph be relocated, saying that the city's original refusal to allow it to be built within the park might have been based on racist attitudes toward ethnic Koreans.

In response, the municipal government offered to approve the relocation of the cenotaph on condition that it enshrine the souls of A-bomb victims of both North and South Korean birth or descent.

However, it was not until 29 years later that the relocation of the cenotaph in the park was approved in December last year by then Hiroshima Mayor Takashi Hiraoka.

The cenotaph now stands among the trees about 150 meters northwest of the park's Memorial Cenotaph.

Donations for the relocation work poured from here and abroad, reaching 20 million yen and well surpassing the amount that had initially been expected.

"We received support that transcended national boundaries and ethnicity. I hope the reunification and peace of our motherland will be realized as soon as possible," said Kwon Yang-baek, chairman of a committee for the relocation of the cenotaph.

However, simply relocating the memorial "is not enough for the resolution of the problems we face to think of the insufficient compensation extended to A-bomb survivors who live outside of Japan," Hiraoka said.

Japan forced many Koreans to move to this country to work as laborers during its colonization of the Korean Peninsula from 1910

through 1945.

On Thursday, 33 A-bomb survivors from South Korea attended the memorial service.

One of them, 72-year-old Kang Seong-goo, said, "Whenever I came to Hiroshima, I had always wondered why the cenotaph [for Korean victims] was built alone outside the peace memorial park."

"Among the Korean victims, there were many who came to Hiroshima after they were drafted by the Japanese government. The relocation will console the souls of those who died while yearning to go back to their homeland," said Kang.

Thousands of Captives Killed by Bomb Practically Ignored

By Mike Harden

The Columbus Dispatch. Reprinted with permission from *The Columbus Dispatch*.

August 6, 1995

HIROSHIMA—Unless a visitor to Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park is purposefully searching for the monument to the thousands of Korean forced laborers killed by the atomic bomb, he is unlikely to find it.

There are Koreans who will tell you that the Japanese prefer it that way.

The monument, on the western fringe of the park, is so remote from the dozens of other memorials to the dead there that it requires a bit of imagination to suggest that it is even part of Peace Memorial Park.

Generous space has been made to accommodate, for instance, a monument to the 52 employees of the Hiroshima Public Works Office killed by the bomb; the 100 lumber company employees; the 76 coal company employees; and the postal workers who died in the blast.

However, partially obscured by a buffer of saplings, the monument to the Koreans who died—their number estimated variously between 10,000 and 20,000—seems to have

been deliberately removed from the park's main thoroughfares.

"I've been there several times," said Korean businessman Jai D. Roh, after visiting the monument. "We protested its location."

"You have to look for it."

Roh, who is president of a major seafood wholesale business in Seoul, was an attaché to the Korean Embassy to Japan from 1967 to 1969, when the monument was being planned and built.

He is keenly aware of the hardships endured by the Koreans taken captive in their homeland by Japanese soldiers and forced to work in war plants in Japan.

He was one of them.

Born in 1928 in a village not far from Pusan, Roh was taken prisoner at 15 and made to labor in a military aircraft factory in Nagoya, Japan, for the balance of the war.

Repatriated to Korea after the war, Roh became involved in government service and eventually returned to Japan two decades after his release.

He said his government was incensed that Japan refused to assist in the care of those Koreans who were exposed to the bomb in Hiroshima.

"Many Koreans back home suffer A-bomb disease," he said, "but the Japanese government doesn't care."

If Roh's anger was piqued by Japan's seeming apathy for those whose toil and sweat fueled its war machine, he was even more upset by the country's attempts to dictate the location of the Korean monument to its A-bomb dead in Hiroshima.

"Many Koreans were angry because it had to be modified," he said. They were equally enraged that it was, essentially, hidden.

After all, the monument was funded not by Japan, but by the Korean Residents Union of Japan.

The stone obelisk, dedicated in 1970, is comparatively small—10 feet high and topped by a crown adorned with twin dragons. Inside the crown are the names of the Koreans known to have died in the city to which between 30,000 and 40,000 had been removed from their homeland.

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The monument tablet informs: When the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945, the sacred lives of more than 20,000 Koreans were suddenly taken from our midst...the Korean victims were given no funerals or memorial services, and their spirits for years were unable to pass on to heaven. Then, on April 10, 1970, this monument was erected in this center.

This monument was erected in the hope that the souls of compatriots, brought to misery

through force, will be able to rest in peace. We pray, of course, for the solace of those lost souls longing for their homeland, but killed on foreign soil.

If the monument tablet's estimated number of Korean dead is accurate, about one in five of those who died in Hiroshima were not Japanese.

To this day, there are those who have no idea that any significant numbers of non-Japanese were killed in Hiroshima. Nor do they know that

among their number was Prince Lee-Woo, nephew of the last crown prince of Korea.

When the smoke of the A-bomb settled, the dead Koreans were cremated by Hiroshima firefighters atop huge pyres. Their ashes were then dumped in a common mound.

As to their memory, it is partially obscured by foliage outside Peace Memorial Park in the city where at least 10,000 of their number perished.

Obuchi Becomes 1st Premier to Honor Korean A-Bomb Victims

Chugoku Shinbun (Chugoku Newspaper). Reprinted with permission.

August 6, 1999

Kyodo—Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi on Friday visited a stone tower dedicated to Korean victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, marking the first official visit to the Korean monument by a Japanese prime minister since its completion in 1970.

Obuchi, who attended the Peace Memorial Ceremony commemorating the 54th anniversary of the bombing earlier in the day, laid a bouquet of white lilies and bowed deeply before the tower, built by supporters of the pro-Seoul Korean Residents Association in Japan (Mindan).

South Korean A-bomb victims' group requested former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto to pay a visit to the cenotaph in 1997, and

Hashimoto said that he would if he had the chance, but was unable to do so.

The 5-meter-high, 10-ton tower was relocated to a site inside the city's Peace Memorial Park late last month, 29 years after its establishment across the river, 300 meters west of the park.

In 1967, the Hiroshima municipal government refused permission for Mindan to build the tower in the park, saying it would not allow any new cenotaphs. The relocation was realized after Korean residents, as well as tourists, complained that it was discriminatory to keep the tower outside the park.

An estimated 20,000 Koreans died immediately or soon after the 1945 U.S. atomic bombing in Hiroshima. Many Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan to work as laborers during

Japan's colonization of the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945.

Shortly before visiting the monument, Obuchi met with representatives of a pro-Pyongyang Korean A-bomb survivors' group, and promised that the government will seek medical assistance for victims living in North Korea.

Li Sil Gun, head of the group, hoped that training programs for North Korean doctors to improve treatment of A-bomb victims in the North will start in Japan this fall, at the earliest.

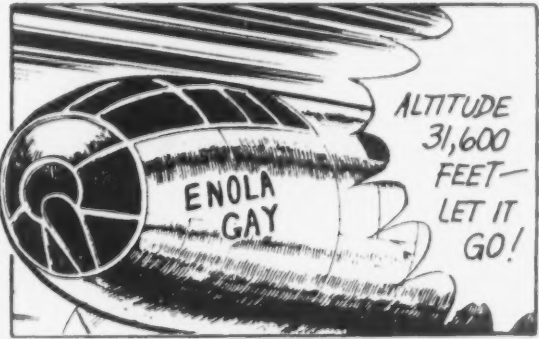
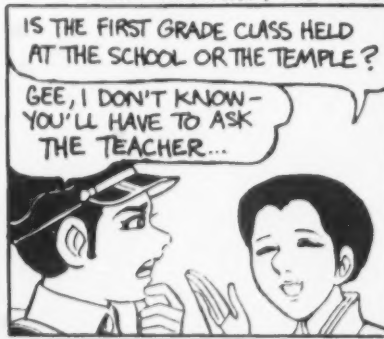
Obuchi said he will consult with Chief Cabinet Secretary Hiromu Nonaka on the matter, and also said the government will consider providing medical equipment to North Korea.

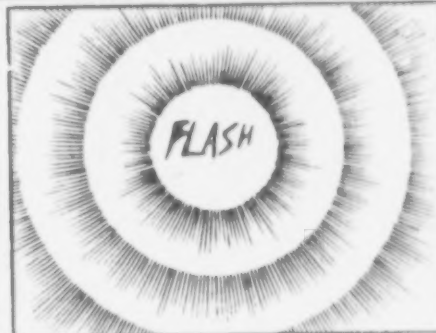
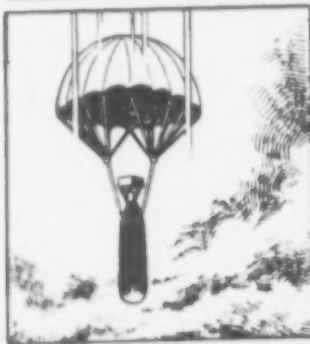
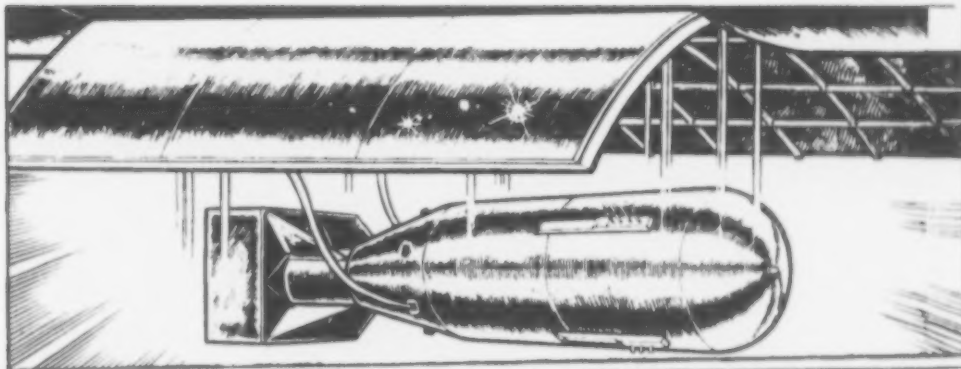
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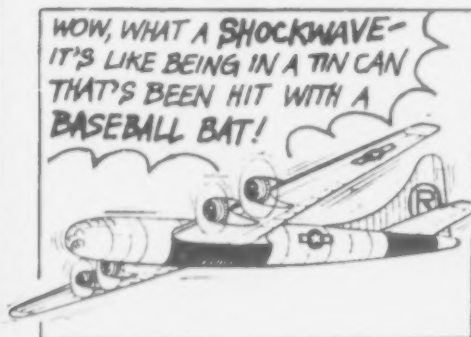
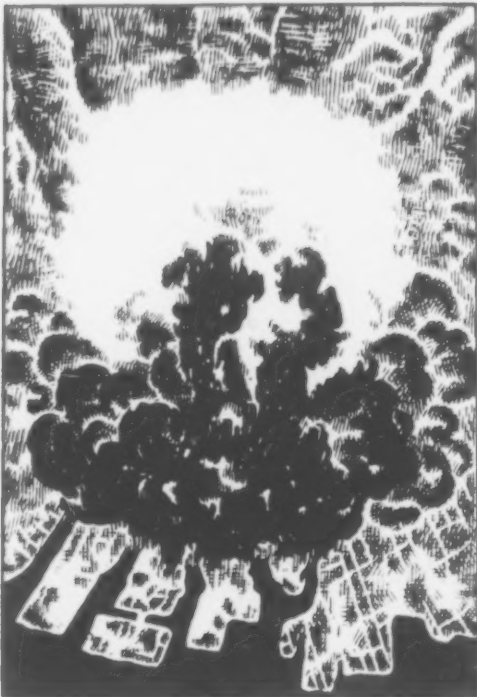
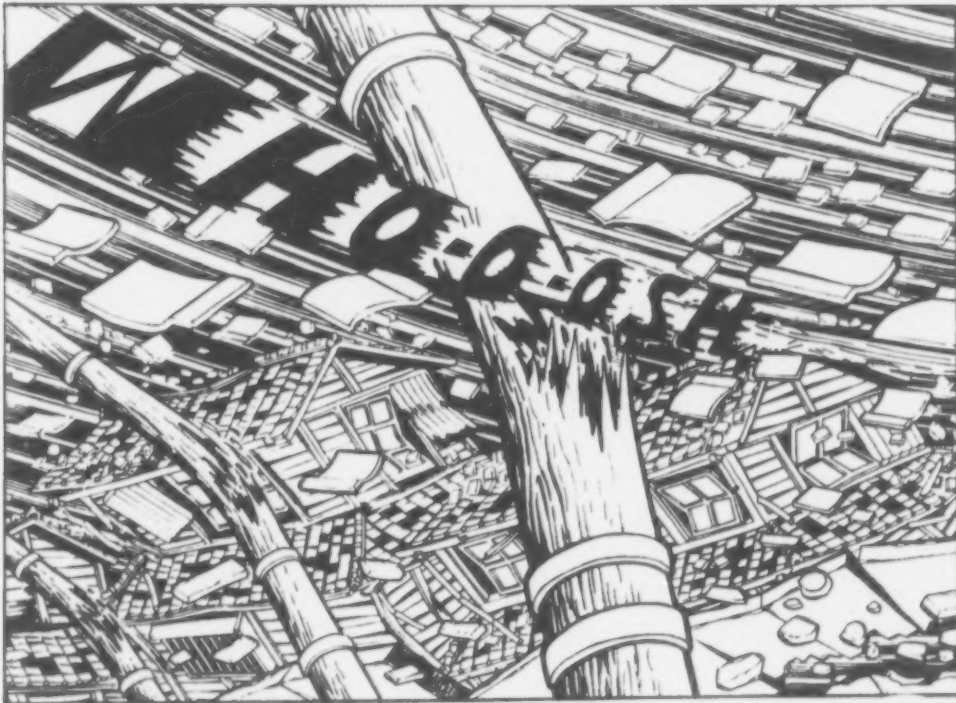
Barefoot Gen

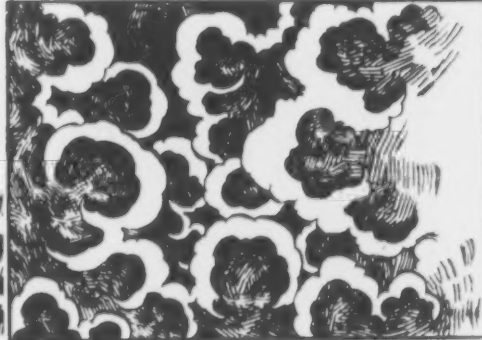
The following is an excerpt from a cartoon history of Hiroshima published in 1978 called *Barefoot Gen*. Gen is the name of a boy who witnessed the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The cartoon history was written by Nakazawa Keiji in Japanese. Since its original publication, it has been translated into English. These excerpts focus on the first impressions, experiences, and conflict (as seen through the eyes of Gen) after the atomic bombing. These were reprinted with permission from Nakazawa Keiji.

After reading these excerpts, you will be reading a U.S. comic book that focuses on the atomic bomb and asked to discuss questions about both comics.

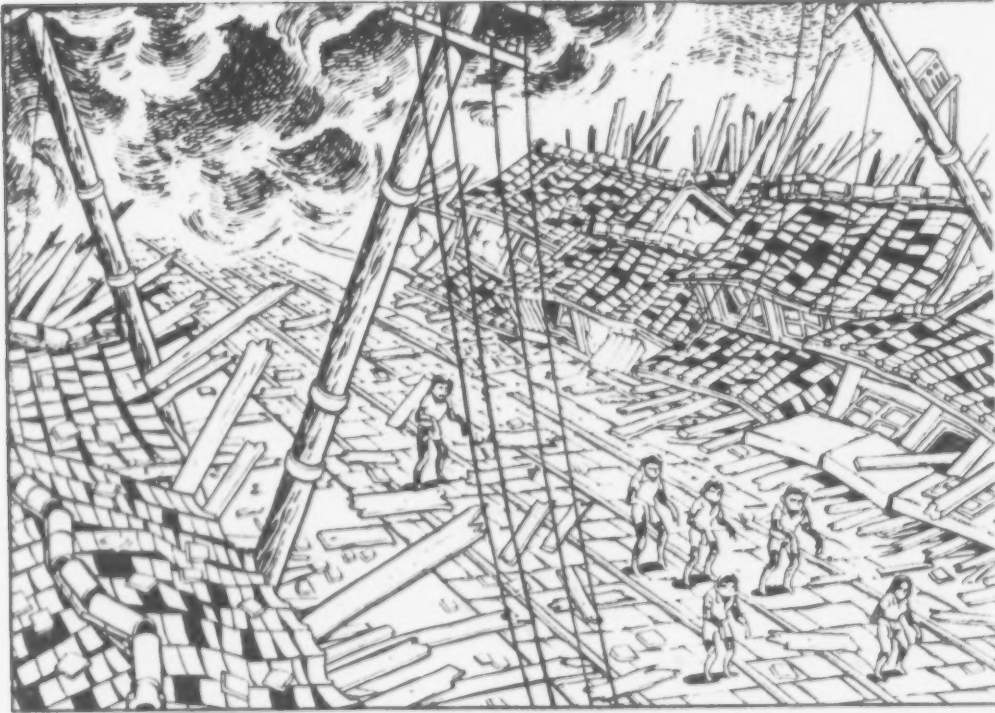
















activity #6



Science Comics: The Exciting Story of the Atomic Bomb

The following is an excerpt from a *Science Comics* edition that was published in the United States in January 1947. It praises the ingenuity that made the development of the atomic bomb possible. When reading this excerpt, consider the differences in tone and focus between the *Science Comics* selection and *Barefoot Gen*.

WONDERS OF SCIENCE IN PICTURES!

SCIENCE

JANUARY No 1

COMICS



THE BOMB THAT WON THE WAR



ON AUGUST 5, 1945, A SINGLE BOMB FROM A SINGLE B-29, DEVASTATED THE JAPANESE CITY OF HIROSHIMA - AND WITH ITS DETONATION THE WORLD ENTERED A NEW ERA: THE ATOMIC AGE! HERE IS THE MOMENTOUS STORY OF THE ATOM WHOSE ENERGY SCIENCES RELEASED AND HARNESSSED TO MAKE THAT BOMB POSSIBLE!

activity #6

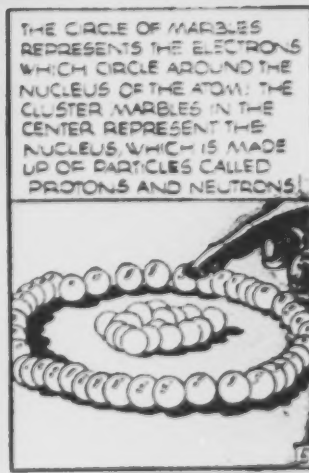
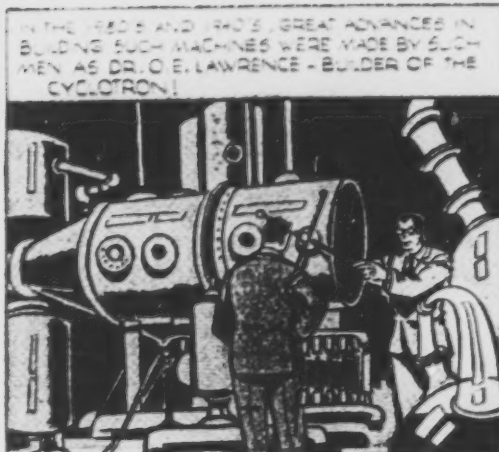




FURTHER EXPERIMENTS PROVED THAT PROFESSOR BECQUEREL WAS CORRECT! LATER, TOO, IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT URANIUM GIVES OFF ENERGY (IN THE FORM OF RAYS) BECAUSE ITS ATOMS ARE ACTUALLY DISINTEGRATING!

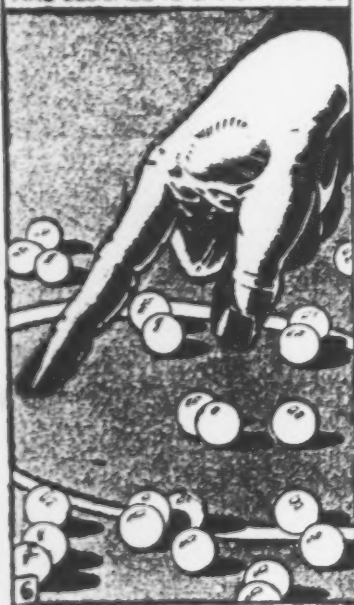
activity #6







THIS SIMPLE GAME DEMONSTRATES THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF MACHINES LIKE THE CYCLOTRON WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO SMASH ATOMS!

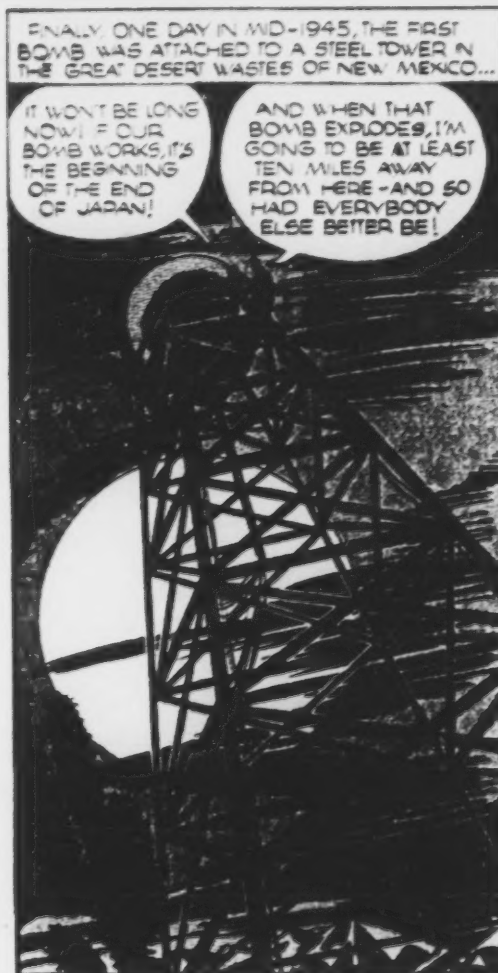


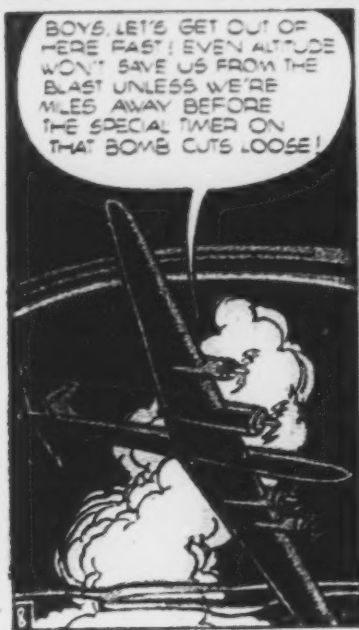
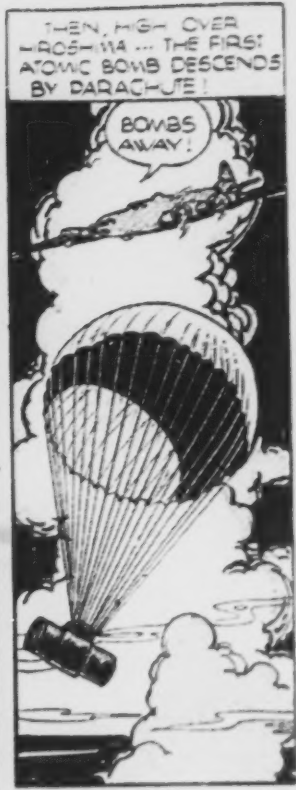
ACTUALLY, IN ATOM SMASHING MACHINES IT TAKES A MILLION OF THE NEUTRON 'BULLETS' TO SCORE ONE HIT ON AN ATOM OF URANIUM. THE URANIUM ATOMS THEN SPLIT IN TWO AND SET OFF OTHER ATOMS.



EXPLODING URANIUM ATOMS ARE LIKE A STRING OF FIRECRACKERS TIED TOGETHER WITH LONG FUSES. AFTER THE FIRST ONE EXPLODES, IT SETS OFF THE OTHERS IN RAPID SUCCESSION!







THUS, THE ATOMIC BOMB - SUPREME ACHIEVEMENT OF MODERN SCIENCE - SOON BROUGHT ABOUT THE SURRENDER OF JAPAN AND THE END OF THE GLOBAL CONFLICT! IN THE HANDS OF THE PEACE-LOVING NATIONS OF THE EARTH, ATOMIC ENERGY WILL HELP BUILD A NEW WORLD FAR MORE WONDERFUL THAN MAN EVER DREAMED A FEW BRIEF YEARS AGO!

Discuss the following questions in your group. Be prepared to share summaries of your answers with the rest of the class.

1. How do you feel about the use of cartoons to depict the atomic bombing?
2. Does the graphic nature of *Barefoot Gen* have an effect on your perception of the atomic bombing?
3. What was your general reaction to reading the last frame of the *Science Comics* excerpt?
4. If *Science Comics* were to incorporate the views of Gen into a modern comic about the bombing of Hiroshima, what do you think it would look like?

Activity:

Using a large poster board or other paper, design a group comic strip illustrating an aspect of the bombing of Hiroshima. Prepare a summary of your responses to the questions to share with the rest of the class. In addition, share your comic strip with the class.

HIROSHIMA POETRY

The following poems were written by Americans and Japanese.

I saw how terrible and wicked the blast
killing thousands of children and civilians of Hiroshima
some of them my relatives of the past
But maybe my life may have been spared
as I would have been one with the troops
to invade Japan by air or by foot—not really prepared

Anonymous (Japanese-American resident in Cupertino, California)

I Would Be a Witness for Hiroshima

I wish, as a survivor, to be a real human being;
Besides, as a poor mother, fearing some day when the blue sky
Above the red-cheeked children
And those thousands with promising futures
Be smashed to atoms all of a sudden,
Endangering their bright futures
And now, to be repeated at the nation's cost,
I resolved to shed tears supposed to be shed on dead bodies,
Afresh for those people living now,
Declaring against all war, first of all.
Even if I should perchance be punished under a disgraceful name—
From a mother's protest against death for her own son's sake,
I should never dare to hide myself, never!
Because the day was too much impressed on my retina,
The hellish day of that fatal blaze.

It was August 6 in 1945. At an early hour of the day;
Men and women were to start their daily work, when unexpectedly
The city and all were blown away; blistered hideously, each and all;
The seven rivers were filled with naked corpses.

Imagine a tale of the inferno; which he caught a glimpse of once,
And wants to tell of himself, when he is called by the lord of the inferno,
I would go wherever it is, as a witness of the Hiroshima Tragedy,
That I might proclaim its misery; I would sing for my life
"No more wars on the earth!"

Sadako Kurihara (Japanese), in *Give Me Water: Testimonies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*,
pp. 44-45

Interrogator of Japanese POWs

I was an interrogator of Japanese POWs
 The excuse to give up they would never use
 The U.S. dropping the bomb I feel no reservation
 To save my comrades lives I have no hesitation
 An invasion of Japan would mean more lives
 At a time when we want to be home with wives.

Anonymous (American resident in the San Francisco Bay Area)

We Shall Bring Forth New Life

It was night in the basement of a broken building.
 Victims of the atomic bomb
 Crowded into the candleless darkness,
 Filling the room to overflowing—
 The smell of fresh blood, the stench of death,
 The stuffiness of human sweat, the writhing moans—
 When, out of the darkness, came a wondrous voice.
 "Oh! The baby's coming!" it said.
 In the basement turned to living hell
 A young woman had gone into labor!
 The others forgot their own pain in their concern
 What could they do for her, having not even a match
 To bring light to the darkness?
 Then came another voice: "I am a midwife.
 I can help her with the baby."
 It was a woman who had been moaning in pain only moments before.
 And so, a new life was born
 In the darkness of that living hell.
 And so, the midwife died before the dawn.
 Still soaked in the blood of her own wounds.
 We shall give forth new life!
 We shall bring forth new life!
 Even to our death.

Sadako Kurihara (Japanese), *The Songs of Hiroshima*, pp. 23-24

If the Bombs Hadn't Been Dropped

My father would have invaded Japan
 if the bombs hadn't been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
 I wonder if he would have lived
 if the bombs hadn't been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
 If he had not survived, I wouldn't have been born
 if the bombs hadn't been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Anonymous (American)

activity #7

1. Discuss the following questions in your group. Be prepared to share summaries of your answers with the rest of the class.
 - What can you infer from the poems regarding what each author felt about the results of the atomic bombing?
 - Describe the similarities and differences between the poems written by the Americans and the Japanese.
2. Write two or more group poems reflecting your feelings about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Prepare to share your poems with the rest of the class.

STAMPS

In the past, two different perspectives on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been represented in the form of commemorative stamps. The first is a 1994 stamp¹ proposed by the United States Postal Service as part of a 10-stamp set to commemorate the Allies' victory in World War II. It depicts the mushroom cloud that rose over Hiroshima after the atomic bomb was dropped. The caption under it reads, "Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945." The second comes by way of two stamps issued by Japan in 1949 that symbolize the city of Nagasaki as the "International City of Culture" and Hiroshima as the "City of Eternal Peace."



After much protest from the Japanese government and people, and after a special request from President Clinton, the U.S. Postal Service canceled the atomic bomb stamp. It was replaced with a stamp depicting Harry S. Truman—the president who made the decision to drop the atomic bomb—preparing to announce the end of World War II. The other stamps in the

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series show, for example, the Marines raising the U.S. flag on Iwo Jima, the battle of Okinawa, the liberation of the Holocaust survivors, the German surrender, the Red Cross, U.S. women's activities in military industries, and hometown honors to veterans.

Controversy over the atomic bomb stamp began with the Japanese criticizing the U.S. stamp as an endorsement of the atomic bomb and the use of nuclear weapons. Because the dispute was occurring at the same time as trade talks with Japan, some people believe the cancellation of the U.S. stamp was a politically motivated move to prevent any negative impact on the talks and the upcoming U.S.-Japan summit meeting.

The act of withdrawing the U.S. stamp from the World War II series was viewed as a letdown to U.S. patriots and many World War II veterans, who believed that their effort to celebrate the U.S. victory during the war was being denied.

Consider the following questions as you study the stamps and the quotes (below and on the next two pages) that focus on the stamp controversy.

- How do the stamps issued by each country represent the memory of the war? How are the "memories" different?
- Do you think the U.S. Postal Service made the right decision in canceling the atomic bomb stamp? Why or why not?
- What is your reaction to the stamps? What is your reaction to the quotes?

After examining the stamps and the quotes, discuss the conflicts that the citizens felt in each country. What images have you seen on U.S. or other countries' stamps? What are some common images on stamps? As a group, choose one of the following two tasks to complete:

1. Imagine that your group has been assigned by an international organization such as the United Nations to design a stamp for the 100th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Japan. Design this stamp.
2. Design a stamp or a series of stamps that commemorates World War II and how you believe the event should be remembered. Create the stamp(s) for either the United States or Japan. If your group is designing a series, be sure to make all of the stamps in the series for one country.

Quotes on the controversy over the U.S. atomic bomb stamp

"I appreciate [the decision]. [The United States] understands the position of Japan, the sole country to have been atomic-bombed.... I heartily pay respect to the fact that [the U.S. government] considered the sentiment of the Japanese people. Japan-U.S. relations are very important for peace and

stability in Asia."

—*Japanese Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi*

"I think the White House's view is that while we certainly agree with the notion that the atomic bomb helped speed the end of World War II, that perhaps there was a more appropriate way to depict that."

—*Dee Dee Myers, White House press secretary*

"As the nation's largest employer of veterans, the Postal Service is very mindful of the feelings of U.S. veterans and their families about the sacrifices they made in World War II and other military conflicts. Many gave their lives for their country, and we will always be grateful for their paying the ultimate price. We are changing the design of the stamp because of the importance of U.S.-Japan relations at this critical time in U.S. foreign policy, and because President Clinton conveyed his views that it was appropriate for us to do so."

—*Postmaster General Marvin Runyon, U.S. Postal Service*

"Was genocide forgivable to 'hasten war's end'? ...How will the Japanese atomic bomb victims still suffering from the nightmare of 50 years ago feel, hearing that the United States will issue this kind of stamp? What if Japan issued a 'Pearl Harbor attack' commemorative stamp? How would Americans feel?"

—*Kakichi Keiko (Japan)*

"I was just trying to depict one of the highlights of the war.... I didn't even think of it offending anybody."

—*William H. Bond (native of England; designed all of the World War II commemorative stamps, including the atomic bomb stamp)*

"The United States suffered great losses of lives, ships, planes and equipment. This cowardly aggression drew us into World War II. Imagine how this was to affect and change lives. Many lost their lives; wives became young widows. Children became fatherless; moms and dads placed gold stars in their windows.

The stamp simply reads: 'Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945.' And that's what they did! Certainly the people of Hiroshima suffered a lot, as we all did. But they were warned in advance before we dropped that first atomic bomb. They had a chance to get out, unlike what the Japanese did to Americans at Pearl Harbor. If President Harry S. Truman had not

activity #8

made the decision to drop the bomb, there would have been hundreds of thousands of casualties, both Allied and Japanese. It would have been a long, costly and bloody invasion of their islands and mainland....

We never fired the first shot in any war. We've never claimed any spoils of victory. We just did what we had to do for freedom. I'm proud to have given 4 1/2 years to my country—three years in England, France and Germany as a glider pilot."

—Jim Helinger Sr., St. Pete Beach, Florida

"This is both a challenge to us, the *hibakusha* [A-bomb sufferers], who on the basis of their own experiences of indescribable agonies have appealed that 'there should never be another *hibakusha* anywhere,' and that 'nuclear war should be prevented, and nuclear weapons eliminated,' and an insult to its extreme to hundreds of thousands of people who were thrown into 'hell' created by the two A-bombs while they were still alive, and were miserably killed like insects.... We denounce and strongly protest against the U.S. administration in its position to try to justify and present a rosy picture of the atomic bombing, and demand that the U.S. Postal Service should cancel the plan to issue the stamp."

—Representatives from the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations (Japan)

Whole-Class Activities

HIROSHIMA LEGACIES

Organizing Questions

- What are some current issues involving atomic bomb survivors?
- In what ways do the legacies of Hiroshima manifest themselves in Japan and in other countries?

Introduction

In this activity, students will study current issues involving atomic bomb survivors in Japan and in other countries. Some of the "legacies" include, survivors' and their descendants' struggles with radiation exposure and its aftereffects, and victims' pleas for medical and financial assistance from U.S. and Japanese governments. Upon analyzing and discussing the issues, students will participate in a roundtable talk on the topic of compensation and medical treatment for the atomic bomb survivors.

As an optional activity, students are presented with a slide presentation of selected drawings by survivors, taken from a book called *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors*. After examining the slides and the accompanying script, students discuss their impressions of and reactions to the slides and the script.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about current issues involving atomic bomb survivors
- to learn about the long-term effects of the atomic bombing
- to comprehend the impact of the atomic bombing on foreign relations between countries
- to learn about the process and possible outcomes of a roundtable discussion

attitude

- to appreciate the diversity of perspectives on the atomic bombing
- to gain an appreciation and an understanding of the complexity of the issues
- to appreciate the experiences of atomic bomb survivors and their descendants

skill

- to work effectively in small groups
- to work effectively and cooperatively in a class discussion
- to learn ways to present and discuss sensitive issues in a diplomatic fashion
- to evaluate different points of view on a complex topic

whole-class activities

- Materials**
- Handout #1: Radiation Effects, six copies
 - Handout #2: Background Information on Financial Compensation and Medical Issues of the Atomic Bomb Victims, six copies
 - Handouts #3–#8: Group Information Sheets, one copy each
 - Handout #9: Children of Hiroshima: An Appeal from the Children of Hiroshima
 - Slides #1–46
 - Slide Script
 - Editorial: "Japan's Struggle with History," one copy per student
 - Handout #10: Polls, one copy per student

- Procedure**
1. Introduce this lesson by reviewing the multiple perspectives on the atomic bombing that were studied in the previous small-group activities. Explain that this lesson will focus on current issues that are being debated decades after the atomic bombing. Students will learn about "Hiroshima legacies" that involve such topics as survivors' and their descendants' struggles with radiation exposure and its aftereffects, and victims' pleas for medical and financial assistance from U.S. and Japanese governments. To set the context for the lesson, students will first review background material on both topics. Then, they will participate in a whole-class roundtable talk activity.
 2. Divide the class into six groups. Distribute Handout #1, *Radiation Effects*, and Handout #2, *Background Information on Financial and Medical Compensation Issues of the Atomic Bomb Victims*, to each of the groups. Have the students read the background information on each of the handouts, and discuss the main issues among themselves.
 3. After all the groups have studied and discussed the background information, tell the class that they will be simulating a roundtable talk over the issues presented in the handouts.
Assign roles to each of the groups as follows:
 - Group One: U.S. government officials
 - Group Two: Japanese government officials
 - Group Three: Korean and Chinese government officials
 - Group Four: Doctors from an international organization
 - Group Five: Survivors (Japanese, Korean, American, Chinese)
 - Group Six: Descendants of the victims/survivors
 4. Distribute Handouts #3–8 to the appropriate groups. Tell students that each group is expected to assume the assigned role, and to prepare to discuss the roundtable topics from the perspective of the assigned role.
 5. Have students read the handout and answer the questions on the handout.

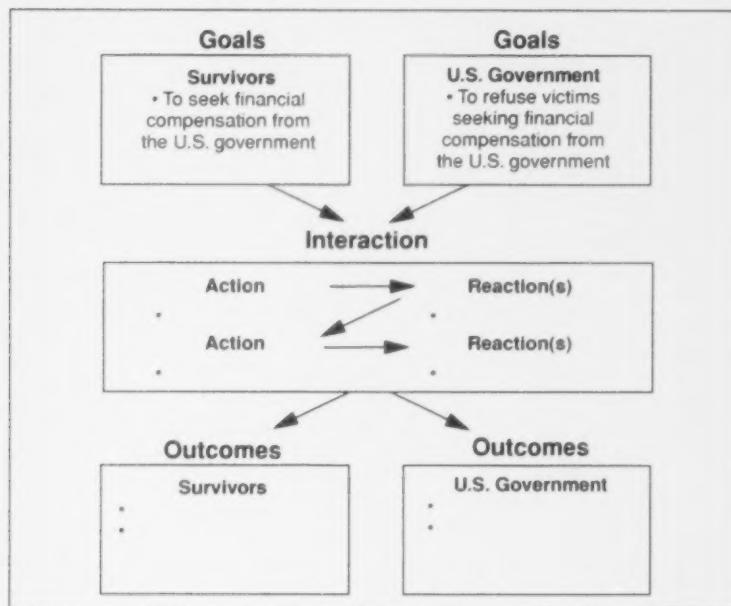


6. As an in-class assignment, have each group write a position paper for the group to use in the roundtable talk. The students will have the option of using the paper as the opening statement for the talk. Allow half a class period to complete the assignment.
7. Choose one representative from each group to present the group's position at the roundtable talk. The rest of the class will be expected to actively participate as audience members.
8. Follow the layout as shown on the next page to situate the representatives for the roundtable talk.
9. Have each group representative deliver an opening statement. The representative may read the position paper for the group as the opening statement.
10. After all of the opening statements have been presented, the mediator (teacher) should allow each representative to comment on any of the opening statements.
11. The rest of the roundtable talk should continue with each representative being allowed an opportunity to talk when appropriate. As the mediator, the teacher should generate in-depth discussions by encouraging questions and identifying key issues or points. The mediator should also make sure to elicit questions and comments from audience members. Allow 30–40 minutes for the rest of the roundtable talk.
12. As a class, debrief the activity as follows:
 - Summarize the issues discussed in the talk.
 - What is/are the outcome(s) of the roundtable talk? Were all the groups able to satisfy their demands? Why or why not?
 - What lingering issues remain? What possible remedies can be suggested to resolve these remaining issues?
 - In your own opinion, is there one general way to satisfy all of the parties concerned with the issues? If so, what would it be? If none, what is/are the alternative(s)?
 - Create a series of flowcharts to illustrate the complexity of the issues. An example of a flowchart is illustrated on the next page. Develop a flowchart for each of the following pairs of groups:
 - Survivors and Japanese government
 - Doctors and U.S. government/Japanese government
 - U.S. government and Japanese government
 - Korean/Chinese governments and Japanese government
13. Revisit the poll questions that were examined in the introductory activity. Distribute copies of Handout #10, *Polls*, to each student. Have each student record his/her responses to the questions. Tabulate the results and share the results with the class. Because the topics of these questions may be very sensitive ones for students, it is recommended

whole-class activities

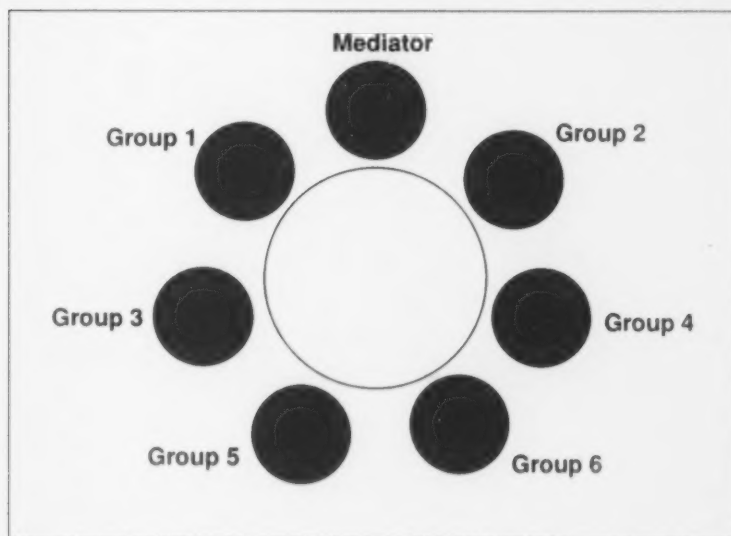
that students not put their names on this handout. Compare these results with the actual poll results from the introductory activity.

14. An optional activity on survivors' drawings is included on pages 107–109. An extension activity on the Smithsonian controversy is included on pages 130–134.



Flowchart: Series of Events Chain

Source of flowchart: Linda Campbell et al., *Teaching & Learning Through Multiple Intelligences* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1996).



Background Information on the Survivors' Drawings

At present, survivors of the atomic bombings are in their late 50s or older. In fact, the generation of survivors who witnessed the events as adults is gradually passing. Many efforts have been made to preserve their stories and eyewitness accounts of what happened in August of 1945. Countless volumes of writings, photographs, and drawings have been created and distributed worldwide to keep the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki alive for generations to come.

In 1974, a survivor named Kobayashi Iwakichi, 77 years old, presented the Japan Broadcasting Station (NHK) with a drawing that he had done based on his memory of the Hiroshima bombing. The picture—depicting numerous people suffering from burns and searching desperately for water—affected the NHK staff so emotionally that the TV station produced a documentary about the drawing and invited other survivors to draw and send in their memories of the atomic bombings. The response from the audience was overwhelming, and during the two summers of 1974 and 1975, some 2,300 drawings were collected by NHK. Selected drawings from the large collection were later published in a book titled, *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors*.

Here are suggested procedures:

1. Point out to students that they will be seeing a slide presentation of selected drawings by survivors, taken from a book called *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors*, which was edited by NHK in conjunction with a TV documentary about the survivors' drawings and a 1975 exhibition at the Peace Culture Center in Hiroshima.

The English language edition of the slide presentation and its accompanying script were prepared in 1976 as a joint effort by the World Friendship Center of Hiroshima and the Maine Peace Action Committee (a student-run organization on the campus of the University of Maine). The slide script is on pages 135–138.

Please be aware that some of the drawings may be too graphic for student viewing. The slide presentation has been included in this activity in its original form, and it is up to your discretion whether all of the slides be shown or all of the script be read.

Students should view the slide presentation as a class, while the teacher reads the slide script. Note that the script itself may be controversial for many of the students. Also note that this script was written during the Cold War with the assistance of a pro-peace organization.

2. After the slide presentation, debrief the activity with the following questions:
 - What is your overall impression of the slides?
 - What are your reactions to the accompanying script?

optional activity

- Read the following quote by an NHK official: "Photographs cannot express the strong impressions which these pictures, drawn by the actual survivors, portray."

—What does he mean by this statement? Based on the slides that you just saw, what differences might arise if one were to study a drawing of the event rather than a photograph? What are the advantages in looking at illustrations over photographs? What are the disadvantages?

—If you wanted to remember a particular event in your life (e.g., a special birthday, a funeral for a relative), would you be inclined to preserve such memories as photographs or as illustrations? Why? Can you think of other forms of art that can be used to keep such memories alive?

3. It has been said that writing books for children on controversial topics is one of the most difficult forms of creative writing. In this activity, students will create a children's picture book on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The purpose of the book is to present the historical event to children in a simple way without subjecting them to too many graphic details about the tragedy. The book should also be written and illustrated in a format accessible to the younger audience.

The activity will ask the students to produce a "dummy" of the book, from the conceptual stage all the way to the final product. Students may do this activity as an individual assignment or as a group activity.

4. Distribute copies of Handout #9, *Children of Hiroshima: An Appeal from the Children of Hiroshima*, to each student. Have students choose one of the four narratives written by children of Hiroshima as a basis for their books. These are Japanese residents of Hiroshima who were children during the atomic bombing.

Have students conduct some research on the art of writing and illustrating children's books. One of the best ways would be to review children's picture books at the library or bookstores. They may also consult the following websites:

<http://www.inkspot.com/young>

<http://www.planet.eon.net/~bplaroeh/Prewrite.html>

<http://www.kidbibs.com/learningtips/lt49body.htm>

Students may also look at the following children's books for information and guidance. All of them are about the atomic bombing. Please note that the Japanese authors are listed with their first names followed by their last names.

Micko and the Fifth Treasure, by Eleanor Coerr

Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes, by Eleanor Coerr

Shin's Tricycle, by Tatsuharu Kodama

The Hiroshima Story, by Toshi Maruki

The Miracle Tree, by Christobel Mattingley

My Hiroshima, by Junko Morimoto

The White Crane, by Junko Morimoto

Students can also use the following to guide them in their project.

- consider the story characters as real people
- use dialogue as often as possible
- show, not just tell
- use your multiple senses in both writing and illustrating
- show feelings in your work

Be sure to inform the students that because the final product is a book for children, the text and illustrations for the book must be carefully produced (i.e., avoid drawings that are too graphic; write the text with a young audience in mind).

5. Have students work on the text and illustrations for the book as a classroom or homework activity.
6. Next, have students create a "dummy" of the book that incorporates the text and illustrations into a draft form of the final product. This may be done as a homework assignment.
7. Allot one classroom period for students to present their books to the rest of the class.
8. Distribute copies of the editorial, "Japan's Struggle with History," pages 139–140, to each student. The editorial was written by John T. Correll, Editor in Chief of *Air Force Magazine*. Have students discuss the issues and questions listed on page 140.

Radiation Effects

Not only did the bombings in Japan have immediate effects on its inhabitants, but they also had effects on the babies in utero of those who survived the bombing. The early effects on the survivors included acute radiation syndrome, radiation cataract (lens opacity/blindness), and death. Other effects include cancer and leukemia. Some of the women who were exposed to the radiation while pregnant gave birth to children with mental retardation or growth impairments. The following is an excerpt of a true story about a boy, Kajiyama Kenji, who was a fetus when his mother was exposed to radiation. The story begins with Kenji's mother, who on August 7, 1945, begins searching for her aunt in the ruins of the bombing of Hiroshima. Her search lasted six days. At the time, Kenji's mother, Mitoyo, was five months pregnant with him.

Kenji was born on January 4, 1946. Kenji started to lose weight from around last November [1956], complained of pains and dullness in the limbs, and on May 23 this year was admitted to the hospital attached to the Hiroshima University Medical School. Diagnosed there as having acute medullary leukemia from the atomic bomb, he was hospitalized for treatment in the Harada Hospital in Aga, Kure City, but since he did not improve he was moved to the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Hospital on the fifth of last month. At that time, his white blood cell count was 301 (normally 6,000 to 8,000), red blood cell count was 1,720,000 (normally 4,000,000 to 4,500,000), and hemoglobin was 36 percent (normally 95-100 percent), indicative of severe blood changes. He died at 4 a.m. on the morning of the 21st, becoming the twenty-fifth victim this year.

Mitoyo, on the other hand, has been normal except that her hair fell out at one point. Although she was examined at the same hospital, no changes in her blood were discovered. She is said to have no

symptoms indicative of atomic bomb disease.

According to Dr. Kaneko, head doctor of the pediatric department of the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Hospital, Kenji was hospitalized with a high fever of 102 to 104 degrees and complained of the pain in the joints of his limbs. His liver and pancreas were swollen. He had terrible anemia in the last stage of medullary leukemia, and nothing could be done. There had been examples of leukemia in children born of mothers who were bombed, but this was the first case in which the child of a mother who did not directly experience the bombing contracted leukemia. Since no symptoms of atomic bomb disease have been found in the mother, this will create a stir in medical circles.

(*Mainichi Shimbun* [Mainichi Daily News], June 22, 1957)

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¹ Mark Selden and Kyoko Selden. (eds). *The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. (New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989).

Studies have been conducted to record the annual body measurements of in utero exposed survivors, including weight and height, recorded between 10 and 18 years of age. The studies have demonstrated reductions in the growth rate, which are associated with radiation dose.²

Radiation also causes damage to cell DNA. In some cases, radiation exposure can cause genes to become totally lost, in part or in whole, or these parts can inadvertently be rejoined to other genes during the repair of breaks in the DNA.³

² <http://www.verf.or.jp/eigo/titles/radloc.htm>

³ Ibid.

Background Information on Financial Compensation and Medical Issues of the Atomic Bomb Victims

With Japan signing the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty following World War II, the country relinquished its rights to demand compensation from the United States or other members of the Allied Powers for damages caused during the war. Hence, issues surrounding compensation for the atomic bomb victims have, for the most part, involved seeking restitution from the Japanese government.

One of the concerns of the Japanese government is that allowing concessions to be made to the atomic bomb survivors would instigate a wide range of demands from war victims in Japan and other countries who suffered at the hands of the Japanese military. The Japanese government has long maintained that the issue of compensation to non-Japanese war victims has been handled at the governmental level, and that settling individual cases or claims would damage diplomatic relations with other countries.

All survivors and their eligible descendants, as long as they have been granted the Atomic Bomb Victim Certificate, can obtain free medical treatment in Japan. The Japanese government has been spending approximately \$500 million dollars per year on the welfare of these survivors in Japan. Laws such as the 1957 Atomic Bomb Survivors Medical Treatment Law and the 1968 Atomic Bomb Survivors Special Measures Law enable all atomic bomb victims, regardless of their nationality or citizenship, to receive free medical care. Some survivors who live outside of Japan consider these provisions inadequate or useless because the medical care must be sought in Japan. This means that survivors who live in another country such as the United States must travel a great distance to get their treatment.

According to Kanji Kuramoto, president of the Committee on Atomic Bomb Survivors in the United States (CABS), some non-Japanese survivors would like to make individual claims to the Japanese government, but due to distance and lack of funding, such demands cannot be made. In the past, some non-Japanese survivors have sued the Japanese government for financial compensation. In particular, Korean and Chinese survivors, some of whom were forcibly brought to Japan during World War II to serve as soldiers or laborers, have appealed for either money or a formal apology or both from the Japanese government.

American survivors residing in the United States have attempted to seek assistance from the U.S. government. Because most insurance companies do not approve treatment for atomic-bomb-related conditions, the American survivors have had to seek treatment by travelling to Japan or paying the medical bills out of their own pockets. Some choose to hide their past from the insurance companies so that they can receive health benefits. In 1978, a congressional hearing was held in Washington, D.C., in

which the American survivors appealed to the U.S. government to pass a bill that asked for two things. First, the survivors wanted official acknowledgement from the U.S. government of their status as atomic bomb victims, by way of atomic bomb victim certificates, similar to the ones issued by the Japanese government. Second, the survivors asked that the U.S. government guarantee necessary medical treatment in the United States for the survivors, and that the survivors be accepted by any medical insurance and/or medical doctor in the country so long as they have the atomic bomb victim certificates. This attempt, along with subsequent efforts to seek assistance from the U.S. government, have all been unsuccessful.

Group Information Sheet

Group 1: U.S. Government Officials

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?

How does the U.S. government plan to address each of the issues?

What does the U.S. government hope to achieve in this talk?

On what aspects of financial compensation to the victims is the United States willing to compromise?

On what aspects of medical treatment to the victims is the United States willing to compromise?

How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

The United States government believes that it bears no responsibility for the aftereffects of World War II since Japan signed the Peace Treaty in 1951. Japan's agreement to the treaty meant that the country was renouncing all rights to ask for reparations from the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of the war or out of actions taken because of the existence of war.

Moreover, it has always been the U.S. government's position that the decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan was the correct course of action at that time. Hence, American survivors have experienced tremendous difficulty winning the support of Congress in their efforts to secure medical assistance from the U.S. government. From 1972 to 1989, numerous legislative measures were taken by American survivors to pass bills that would provide medical assistance for the survivors. None of the bills were adopted by Congress, however, mostly due to the lack of congressional sponsors.

The U.S. government has been spending approximately \$17 million per year to study the effects of radiation on Japanese survivors. The Japanese government has been spending approximately \$500 million per year on the welfare of survivors in Japan.

Although survivors in Japan are provided with free medical care and financial assistance by the Japanese government, the United States has made no similar provisions for the American survivors.

Group Information Sheet

Group 2: Japanese Government Officials

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?
 How does the Japanese government plan to address each of the issues?
 What does the Japanese government hope to achieve in this talk?
 On what aspects of financial compensation to the victims is Japan willing to compromise?
 On what aspects of medical treatment to the victims is Japan willing to compromise?
 How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

With the signing of the 1951 Peace Treaty, the Japanese government relinquished its rights to make any claims against the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of the war or out of actions taken because of the existence of war.

The treaty also freed Japan from bearing any responsibilities for its former colonies, since the agreement forced Japan to give up all claims to those territories. In addition, by the terms of the 1965 treaty with South Korea, the Japanese government absolved itself of any responsibilities for Korean claims related to wartime losses. For this reason, the Korean survivors have received no direct compensation from the Japanese government.

The Japanese government has been spending approximately \$500 million per year on the welfare of survivors in Japan. Since 1957, Japan has provided free medical treatment and social services for Japanese survivors. In 1978, the Japanese Supreme Court made the decision that free medical treatment should be extended to non-Japanese survivors as long as they receive the treatment in Japan.

With regard to the Korean survivors residing in South Korea, the Japanese government initiated a five-year program to provide free medical treatment to the survivors by taking care of the hospital fees while having the South Korean government pay for their transportation costs to Japan. The Japanese government considered the possibility of extending the program beyond 1986, but was met with opposition from the South Korean government as well as its own officials. The Japanese Ministry of Health told the South Korean government in 1986 that "the sharing of expenses has been part of this formula from the beginning," and that the program would only be extended "on Japanese terms or not at all."

With the ending of the program to aid the Korean victims, the Japanese government provided approximately \$25 million between 1989 and 1993 to support the effort by the South Korean government to establish more clinics and financial assistance to the Korean survivors in South Korea. While survivors living in the United States and South America have been

regularly visited by Japanese doctors, the Japanese government has never sent doctors to South Korea for routine exams.

One of the concerns of the Japanese government is that allowing concessions to be made to the atomic bomb survivors would instigate a wide range of demands from war victims in Japan and other countries who suffered at the hands of the Japanese military. The Japanese government has long maintained that the issue of compensation to non-Japanese war victims has been handled at the governmental level, and that settling individual cases or claims would damage diplomatic relations with other countries.

Since 1977, in an effort to reach those survivors not residing in Japan, teams of doctors from Hiroshima have traveled biennially to the United States to conduct comprehensive medical examinations on American survivors in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Honolulu. With the volunteer services of the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical Association, the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare finances and sponsors these visits. As a cooperative effort, support groups are organized among American doctors and citizens to manage the paperwork and auxiliary assistance during the visits.

Starting in the 1980s, the Japanese doctor teams have also visited survivors residing in South America, under the support of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and the municipal governments of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Group Information Sheet

Group 3: Korean and Chinese Government Officials

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?

How do the Korean and Chinese governments plan to address each of the issues?

What do the Korean and Chinese governments hope to achieve in this talk?

On what aspects of financial compensation to the victims are Korea and China willing to compromise?

On what aspects of medical treatment to the victims are Korea and China willing to compromise?

How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

In the past, the South Korean government has supported most plans to provide medical assistance to the Korean survivors in both Japan and South Korea. At times, there have been joint efforts by the Japanese and South Korean governments. For instance, in 1981, being eligible for free medical treatment in Japan, some Korean survivors living in South Korea were able to travel to Hiroshima for treatment, with the transportation costs paid by the South Korean government and the hospital fees handled by the Japanese government.

Though the Japanese government had offered to extend the program beyond 1986, the South Korean government refused to continue the program, claiming that most who needed the medical treatment had already taken advantage of the program. One speculation as to why the program was stopped involves nationalistic pride, that the South Korean government did not want to bring attention to the "deficiencies of the country's medical system." Another reason is that some South Korean government officials objected to the government having to pay the transportation costs during the program. Finally, some South Korean officials were concerned that the Japanese government would use an extension of the program as a "propaganda opportunity."

With the ending of the program to aid the Korean victims, the Japanese government provided approximately \$25 million between 1989 and 1993 to support the effort by the South Korean government to establish more clinics and financial assistance to the Korean survivors in South Korea. While survivors in the United States and South America have been regularly visited by Japanese doctors, the Japanese government has never sent doctors to Korea for routine exams.

With the signing of the 1951 Peace Treaty, Japan was released from its responsibilities for its former colonies (including Korea and China/Taiwan), since the agreement forced Japan to give up all claims to those territories. In addition, by the terms of the 1965 treaty with South

handout #5

Korea, the Japanese government absolved itself of any responsibilities for Korean claims related to wartime losses. For this reason, the Korean survivors have received no direct compensation from the Japanese government.

The situation involving Korean survivors is complex because of the split between North and South Korea. With different organizations representing either North or South Korean survivors, the Japanese government has had to distinguish provision of aid between North Korean and South Korean victims. Moreover, the division between the two countries is also evident among the Korean survivors living in Japan, who may seek specific assistance from the government depending on whether they are pro-North or pro-South.

Group Information Sheet

Group 4: Doctors from an International Organization

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?

How do you plan to address each of the issues?

What do you hope to achieve in this talk?

On what aspects of medical treatment to the victims are you willing to compromise?

How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

As members of an international organization, the doctors have to remain diplomatic and objective about the issues. The primary reasons the physicians have been involved in the treatment of atomic bomb survivors are: (1) research needs to be conducted to study the long-term effects of radiation exposure, and (2) they are driven by humanitarian intentions.

Studies conducted on survivors have shown no concrete evidence of a direct connection between radiation exposure from the atomic bombings and illnesses of the survivors. However, research done soon after the bombings demonstrated that there was a very high rate of death due to leukemia in Hiroshima, compared to other cities in Japan. Along with leukemia, conditions such as anemia and various kinds of cancer are frequent among the survivors. For those not suffering from any of the above, they are often plagued by dizziness, severe palpitations, headaches, insomnia, loss of weight, nausea, and poor memory.

Since 1977, Japanese doctors have made biennial visits to the United States to examine American survivors. Over the years, these doctors have collected data that show a direct correlation between acute radiation exposure and increased risk of various ailments, including chromosomal abnormalities, cataracts, and a variety of cancers. Other common conditions they have found include exhaustion, fatigue, heat intolerance, loss of vigor, and numbness of the body.

Some doctors who have examined both survivors in Japan and those in the United States note that there is an important difference between the two groups: "We repeatedly noticed that *hibakusha* [survivors of the atomic bombing] here [United States] suffer more emotional and psychological anxiety, partly because of the lack of sophisticated medical facilities. Therefore, we emphasize psychological treatment and support in addition to the extensive medical exams."

In addition, descendants of victims have been studied for radiation-related conditions. A high number of children who were in utero at the time of the bombings have been born with microcephalitis (a condition that slows brain growth, causing mental retardation). Genetic effects of radiation exposure is an ongoing study, though it has been difficult to ascertain the

effects for various reasons. One, most of those seriously exposed are no longer alive, and two, only a few of those living are married and have children. As Dr. Hermann J. Muller, a Nobel Prize winner for his biological study on the effects of radiation on life, comments, "Among the offspring of the exposed people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for 1,000 years to come, there will be persons who will die of unknown causes."

Group Information Sheet

Group 5: Survivors (Japanese, Korean, American, Chinese)

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?

How do you plan to address each of the issues?

What do you hope to achieve in this talk?

On what aspects of financial compensation are you willing to compromise?

On what aspects of medical treatment are you willing to compromise?

How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

According to the Health and Welfare Ministry of Japan, as of March 1994, 333,812 people in Japan were registered as victims of the atomic bombings. This number does not include Japanese and non-Japanese victims living outside of Japan. Some speculate that more than 20,000 survivors may be residing in South Korea alone, and approximately 1,500 survivors live in the United States. Surveys have never been conducted to calculate the number of Chinese survivors.

Studies conducted on survivors have shown no concrete evidence of a direct connection between radiation exposure from the atomic bombings and illnesses of the survivors. However, research done soon after the bombings demonstrated that there was a very high rate of death due to leukemia in Hiroshima, compared to other cities in Japan. Along with leukemia, conditions such as anemia and various kinds of cancer are frequent among the survivors. For those not suffering from any of the above, they are often plagued by dizziness, severe palpitations, headaches, insomnia, loss of weight, nausea, and poor memory. In addition, Japanese doctors who have made biennial visits to the United States to examine American survivors have collected data that show a direct correlation between acute radiation exposure and increased risk of various ailments, including chromosomal abnormalities, cataracts, and a variety of cancers. Other common conditions they have found include exhaustion, fatigue, heat intolerance, loss of vigor, and numbness of the body.

Regardless of their nationality, most survivors have had to live with not only physical, but also psychological and emotional scars. One survivor explained that the uncertainty of becoming ill with a radiation-caused disease is like "living with a time bomb" inside his body. There is also some social discrimination against the survivors who are viewed as potential carriers of genetic disorders or diseases. Some descendants of survivors or survivors themselves have refused to marry for fear of passing on such conditions to future generations. Many victims and their children refuse to come forward for help because they fear discrimination in employment and marriage.

Japanese Survivors

For the most part, Japanese survivors living in Japan have received free medical treatment and financial assistance from the Japanese government since 1957 when the Atomic Bomb Survivors Medical Treatment Law was enacted. Other benefits were added with the passing of the 1968 Atomic Bomb Survivors Special Measures Law. Some victims, however, argue that while the Japanese government has provided adequate assistance to living atomic bomb victims, not enough compensation has been given to the families and descendants of the approximately 300,000 people killed in the atomic bombings. In response to the Japanese government's refusal to give special status to the survivors (thereby allowing descendants and families of survivors to receive special government pensions), a representative of the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organization said, "The government's argument against giving special attention to atomic bomb victims doesn't make any sense.... Being exposed to radiation is truly different from being injured by other methods of war."

Non-Japanese Survivors

Many of the Korean and Chinese survivors insist that the Japanese government claim more responsibility for the atomic bombings. Over the years, private organizations from Korea, China, and Japan have urged the Japanese government to provide compensation to non-Japanese victims who were forcibly brought to Japan during World War II to serve as soldiers or laborers. Several non-Japanese survivors have unsuccessfully sued the Japanese government for redress. In 1999, one Chinese victim of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima sued the Japanese government for the equivalent of approximately \$226,000 in compensation. The lawsuit also demands that a formal apology be printed in major newspapers in China and Japan. The case is pending in the Japanese courts.

South Korean survivors are given some financial assistance by the South Korean government. There is also a small government-funded clinic in Hapchon, South Korea, which was established specifically to treat atomic bomb victims. The Japanese government also initiated a five-year program to provide free medical treatment to the Korean survivors by having the South Korean government pay for their transportation costs to Japan while the Japanese government took care of the hospital fees. The Japanese government considered the possibility of extending the program beyond 1986, but was met with opposition from the South Korean government as well as its own officials.

Most insurance companies in the United States have refused to cover any condition that might arise from the atomic bombing. Hence, American survivors have faced large medical bills to be paid with their own money or have simply hidden their past from the insurance companies. To remedy this situation, American survivors have attempted to push the U.S. Congress for legislation for medical assistance to those survivors living in the United States. Because of the U.S. government's stance on the decision

to drop the atomic bombs and the lack of support from Congress, however, the survivors have not been successful in their plight.

Some doctors who have examined both survivors in Japan and those in the United States note that there is an important difference between the two groups: "We repeatedly noticed that *hibakusha* [survivors of the atomic bombing] here [United States] suffer more emotional and psychological anxiety, partly because of the lack of sophisticated medical facilities. Therefore, we emphasize psychological treatment and support in addition to the extensive medical exams."

Ironically, because the American survivors had been given free medical checkups by the Japanese doctors, the situation has posed a problem for the survivors' campaign to seek medical assistance from the U.S. government since "there was little motivation to press for U.S. government support."

Group Information Sheet

Group 6: Descendants of the Victims/Survivors

What are the issues to be discussed at the roundtable talk?

How do you plan to address each of the issues?

What do you hope to achieve in this talk?

On what aspects of financial compensation are you willing to compromise?

On what aspects of medical treatment are you willing to compromise?

How do you anticipate the meeting will proceed?

Background Information

Many descendants of atomic bomb victims live in constant fear that they might develop a radiation-related illness during their lifetimes. Some descendants of survivors or survivors themselves have refused to marry for fear of potentially passing on genetic disorders or diseases to future generations. Many victims and their children refuse to come forward for help because they fear discrimination in employment and marriage.

For the most part, Japanese survivors living in Japan have received free medical treatment and financial assistance from the Japanese government since 1957 when the Atomic Bomb Survivors Medical Treatment Law was enacted. The 1957 law did not recognize microcephaly—a condition that some descendants of the victims suffer from—as an atomic-bomb-related condition. The situation changed, however, with the 1967 decision by the Japanese government to certify atomic bomb “fetal victims” with microcephaly as “authorized atomic bomb victims.” The 1968 Atomic Bomb Survivors Special Measures Law also provided further funds for these descendants to receive special treatment.

Some descendants already suffer from supposed radiation-caused illnesses such as leukemia, mental retardation, disorders of the central nervous system, eye problems, hip dislocation, epileptic seizures, high blood pressure, and kidney and liver diseases.

Some of these second-generation victims believe that they are entitled to some degree of compensation not only because they are potential carriers of radiation-caused defects, but also because they are, typically, family members of either deceased victims or survivors. For that reason, they seek assistance in order to support the victim/survivor and his or her family.

While many would like to voice their concerns, some live day-by-day with a secret that they are “second-generation survivors.” One descendant says she would like to live “as if the bomb has no relationship to her life.” For those who want a “voice,” second-generation atomic bomb victims support groups have been established in Japan and other countries such as South Korea.

One pressing concern of the descendants is that with the passage of time, the people upon whom some of the "fetal victims" depend for support are getting old and are dying. Many of these "fetal victims" have already lost both parents and are unable to care for themselves due to mental or physical disabilities. In response to this situation, aid programs started by Hiroshima and Nagasaki municipal governments were accepted nationally in 1978, and the microcephalic victims became eligible for more financial assistance.

Finally, both survivors and their descendants have continuously expressed their concern over the uncertainty of their health in the future. As one survivor commented, "When will the silent bomb within us explode?"

Children of Hiroshima: An Appeal from the Children of Hiroshima

Compiled by Osada Arata, Professor Emeritus, Hiroshima University of
Humanities and Science (source: <http://www.csi.ad.jp/ABOMB/children.html>).
Reprinted with permission from Ohba Mitsuru, producer of the website.

Sasaki Keiko

Six years old in 1945

She [Grandmother] heard from a man who escaped from Hiroshima that the city was completely destroyed by the bomb. When she heard that, she went to Hiroshima right away. When she came back after a week, I asked "Where's Mother?"

"I brought her on my back" was the answer.

I was very happy and shouted, "Mummy*!" But when I looked closely, I saw she was only carrying a rucksack. I was disappointed. My sister and our neighbors began to cry. I couldn't understand why. Then my grandmother put the rucksack down and took some bones out of it and showed them to everybody....I still didn't understand.

* British spelling of "Mommy."

Takai Kimiko

Five years old in 1945

I shiver whenever I think of August 6, 1945, the day when Hiroshima was destroyed in just a few minutes.

I and a friend were playing at a neighbor's house when I heard the roar of an airplane.

"It's an airplane," I said. Right then, there was a flash. I was so afraid that I hung on to the next-door lady, but she was more scared than I was. She shook me loose and threw her arms around her husband. Then she took a cloth band out of a drawer and tied it around her waist. After that, she and her husband ran out of the house.

My playmate Tatsuko and I didn't know what to do. Suddenly, it got dark and something began to drop from the ceiling. We were so frightened that we just hung on to each other with our eyes wide open. It got lighter and lighter and after a while I heard Tatsuko's mother calling for her. She sounded very worried.

She took Tatsuko with her and I was left alone. I started to cry. A neighbor with dirt all over her face came out of the wreckage and said, "Don't cry. Your mother is nearby."

She ran off, too, and I was alone again. A little later, I heard my sister's

voice through my sobs. I listened carefully. I could hear her calling, "Kimiko! Kimiko!" with all her might. I was so glad that my eyes got full of tears. My mother came, too.

"Oh, Kimiko, I'm so glad to find you. And now your sister. Where could she be? I hope she hasn't been burned. Maybe, she's already dead," my mother said....

As we got to the countryside, farmers stared at us in amazement and asked us what had happened. When we passed farm houses, people would come out and give us rice balls to eat, or ask us whether we would like to wash our faces....

From the next day, Father went out looking for my sister. The bomb had exploded over Aioi Bridge, near the Hiroshima post office where my sister worked. She must have died without time to call for her mother or even to say, "Oh!" All but one of the workers at the post office was killed. He picked up the remains of the other workers and then took a little of the ashes to each of the dead persons' families. We put the ashes before God and prayed that my sister would rest in peace.

Fujita Yasuo
Five years old in 1945

The saddest thing for me was that I lost my brother, sister, and grandmother.

My grandmother was folding up some quilts and things and when the house fell she was caught under many beams. She screamed for help but the beams were too heavy for my father to lift alone.

They brought our sister to us about three days after the bombing but she had lost so much blood that she died two days later.

My brother was missing for about four months. Then one day, we heard they had found him but when we went to take a look all we saw was some buttons lying here and there.

Asaeda Masatada
Third-grade student in 1945

When we were playing in the school ground, an airplane came, but we kept on playing, only saying "Why did they give the all-clear?" All of a sudden, there was something like lightning and I covered my face with my hands. When I opened my eyes and looked around, it was dark and I couldn't see anything. While I was feeling around in the darkness, it became light. I was thinking of going home, and I found that all the houses around me had been destroyed and fires were burning here and there.

I started running home, crying and calling, "Mother! Mother!" But I couldn't tell where my house had been. I just went around this way and that, and then I heard my sister calling my name. I was shocked when I saw her, because she was stained with blood all over....I didn't know what all this meant, and I was frightened, so I burst into tears. Meanwhile, Mother had crawled out from the pile of tiles and dragged an overcoat and Father's cloak out of a trunk and wrapped us in them.

We spent the night in Yasu Shrine in Gion. Because of their burns, everyone was crying for water all night. The next morning, we were taken by truck to a Buddhist temple in Kabe. That night, my sister died. How can I describe Mother's grief? How can I describe the horrible scenes I saw in the temple then? Who can imagine the miseries we went through except those who were there themselves? It is entirely beyond my power to put the terrible sight into words....

Polls

You were introduced to the following poll questions in the introductory activity of this curriculum module. Please check one of the boxes for each question. Once you have answered the poll questions, give this paper back to your teacher. Do not write your name on this poll.

1. The United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, near the end of World War II. Looking back, would you say you approve or disapprove of using the atomic bombs on Japanese cities in 1945?
 - ☐ Approve
 - ☐ Disapprove
 - ☐ Don't know / Refuse to answer / No opinion

2. What is your opinion about our using the atomic bomb or nuclear weapons if the United States gets into another world war—do you think we should use it or not?
 - ☐ Yes
 - ☐ Qualified yes
 - ☐ No
 - ☐ No opinion

3. Do you think it was a good thing or bad thing that the atomic bomb was developed?
 - ☐ Good
 - ☐ Bad
 - ☐ No opinion

THE SMITHSONIAN CONTROVERSY



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In July 1993, the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum (NASM) commissioned a planning document that called for an exhibition on the end of World War II. The exhibit was to be called "Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb, and the Origins of the Cold War." As the purpose of the exhibit, the planning document stated the following:

The primary goal of this exhibition will be to encourage visitors to undertake a thoughtful and balanced re-examination of the end of the Second World War and the onset of the Cold War in the light of the political and military factors leading to the decision to drop the bomb, the human suffering experienced by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the long-term implications of the events of August 6 and 9, 1945.... This exhibit can provide a crucial public service by re-examining these issues in light of the most recent scholarship.¹

Many historians and the Smithsonian curators wanted the exhibit to challenge the minds of visitors, but critics described the exhibit as "an anti-nuke morality play in which Americans were portrayed as ruthless racists hell-bent on revenge for Pearl Harbor, with the Japanese as innocent, even noble victims fighting to defend their unique culture from 'Western imperialism.'"²

¹ Hammond, Phil (ed). *Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan*. (London: Cassell, 1997.)

² Wallace, Mike. "The Battle of the Enola Gay," in *Hiroshima's Shadow*. (Stony Creek, CT: The Pamphleteer's Press, 1998.)

The NASM's decision to begin this new project resulted in a series of arguments, discussions, and conflicts between those with opposing views about the tone and content of the proposed exhibit and the questions it raised. Up until that point, the NASM had presented exhibits that normally celebrated advancements in air and space technology. For the first time, the NASM was trying to attempt a more scholarly critical approach to aircraft and warfare. Due to controversy, the original script was rewritten and revised a total of five times over 18 months before the NASM finally canceled the entire project altogether. Instead, the NASM resorted to a display of the *Enola Gay* (the B-29 that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima) without any substantial analysis of the event in which it played such a large role. A critical player on the side of the opposition against the Smithsonian's original script was the Air Force Association (AFA), a veterans' and aerospace group which wanted to ensure that the *Enola Gay* would be displayed proudly. The following are two examples of discourse related to the Smithsonian controversy.

Senator Warns Smithsonian on Controversies

Friday, May 19, 1995

The Washington Post

By Jacqueline Trescott

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Infuriated at the way the Smithsonian Institution handled a planned exhibit about the decision to drop the atomic bomb, Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) yesterday blasted museum officials and said such controversies threaten support for the institution.

Stevens, a frequent critic of the Smithsonian, completed his most recent hearings on management of the complex. At one point, the Rules and Administration Committee chairman produced a copy of the law creating the National Air and Space Museum, where the ill-fated *Enola Gay* exhibition was planned to mark the end of World War II.

After reading a passage establishing Air and Space to memorialize the success of the military, Stevens said the charter doesn't authorize the museum to grapple with contentious historical issues. "I don't think you have any

authority under the law," he said. "You could, but I don't think you have."

Smithsonian Chairman I. Michael Heyman, who assumed the top post just as the *Enola Gay* controversy was reaching its boiling point last fall, countered by offering to provide a list of exhibitions recording military and aeronautic glory. "We really do try to fulfill the statements in that section," said Heyman.

The reason for the hearings, Steven said, was to study the botched exhibition and learn what guidelines will be put in place to avoid "the revisionist and 'politically correct' bias that was contained in the original script" of the *Enola Gay* project. That project has been replaced by a drastically scaled-down show featuring the plane's fuselage.

A letter from the Historians' Committee for Open Debate on Hiroshima:

Mr. I. Michael Heyman
Secretary
The Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

July 31, 1995

Dear Secretary Heyman:

Testifying before a House subcommittee on March 10, 1995, you promised that when you finally unveiled the *Enola Gay* exhibit, "I am just going to report the facts."

Unfortunately, the *Enola Gay* exhibit contains a text which goes far beyond the facts. The critical label at the heart of the exhibit makes the following assertions:

—The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki "destroyed much of the two cities and caused many tens of thousands of deaths." This substantially understates the widely accepted figure that at least 200,000 men, women and children were killed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (Official Japanese records calculate a figure of more than 200,000 deaths—the vast majority of victims being women, children and elderly men.)

—"However," claims the Smithsonian, "the use of the bombs led to the immediate surrender of Japan and made unnecessary the planned invasion of the Japanese home islands." Presented as fact, this sentence is actually a highly contentious interpretation. For example, an April 30, 1946 study by the War Department's Military Intelligence Division concluded, "The war would almost certainly have terminated when Russia entered the war against Japan." (The Soviet entry into the war on August 8th is not even mentioned in the exhibit as a major factor in the Japanese surrender.) And it is also a fact that even after Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed, the Japanese still insisted that Emperor Hirohito be allowed to remain emperor as a condition of surrender. Only when that assurance was given did the Japanese agree to surrender. This was precisely the clarification of surrender terms that many of Truman's own top advisors had urged on him in the months prior to Hiroshima. This, too, is a widely known fact.

—The Smithsonian's label also takes the highly partisan view that, "It was thought highly unlikely that Japan, while in a very weakened military condition, would have surrendered unconditionally without such an invasion." Nowhere in the exhibit is this interpretation balanced by other views. Visitors to the exhibit will not learn that many U.S. leaders—including Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Admiral William D. Leahy, War Secretary Henry L. Stimson, Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew and Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy—thought it highly probable that the Japanese would surrender well before the earliest possible invasion, scheduled for November 1945. It is spurious to assert as fact that obliterating Hiroshima in August was needed to obviate an invasion in November. This is interpretation—the very thing you said would be banned from the exhibit.

—In yet another label, the Smithsonian asserts as fact that “Special leaflets were then dropped on Japanese cities three days before a bombing raid to warn civilians to evacuate.” The very next sentence refers to the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, implying that the civilian inhabitants of Hiroshima were given a warning. In fact, no evidence has ever been uncovered that leaflets warning of atomic attack were dropped on Hiroshima. Indeed, the decision of the Interim Committee was “that we could not give the Japanese any warning.”

—In a 16 minute video film in which the crew of the *Enola Gay* are allowed to speak at length about why they believe the atomic bombings were justified, pilot Col. Paul Tibbets asserts that Hiroshima was “definitely a military objective.” Nowhere in the exhibit is this false assertion balanced by contrary information. Hiroshima was chosen as a target precisely because it had been very low on the previous spring’s campaign of conventional bombing, and therefore was a pristine target on which to measure the destructive powers of the atomic bomb. Defining Hiroshima as a “military” target is analogous to calling San Francisco a “military” target because it has a port and contains the Presidio. James Conant, a member of the Interim Committee that advised President Truman, defined the target for the bomb as a “vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers’ houses.” There were indeed military factories in Hiroshima, but they lay on the outskirts of the city. Nevertheless, the *Enola Gay* bombardier’s instructions were to target the bomb on the center of this civilian city.

The few words in the exhibit that attempt to provide some historical context for viewing the *Enola Gay* amount to a highly unbalanced and one-sided presentation of a largely discredited post-war justification of the atomic bombings.

Such errors of fact and such tendentious interpretation in the exhibit are no doubt partly the result of your decision earlier this year to take this exhibit out of the hands of professional curators and your own board of historical advisors. Accepting your stated concerns for accuracy, we trust that you will therefore adjust the exhibit, either to eliminate the highly contentious interpretations, or at the very least, balance them with other interpretations that can be easily drawn from the attached footnotes.

Sincerely,

Kai Bird and Martin Sherwin
Co-chairs of the Historians’ Committee for Open Debate on Hiroshima

Reprinted with the permission of Kai Bird.

extension activity

Brief overview of the content of the initial script for the exhibit.*

The exhibit was to consist of five sections. The first section, entitled "A Fight to the Finish," focused on the final few months of World War II, including the battles of Okinawa and Iwo Jima. The second section, "The Decision to Drop the Bomb," reviewed some of the debates that arose regarding the bomb decision. The third section, "The World's First Atomic Strike Force," was to be presented in the area which displayed the *Enola Gay*. It highlighted the experiences of the pilots involved in delivering the bombs to Japan and emphasized the bravery and sacrifices of those who fought in the Pacific War. The fourth section, "Cities at War," was dubbed the "emotional center" of the segment due to its focus on the destructive power of the bomb and the experiences of those who suffered from its use in Japan. The last section entitled, "The Legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," treated the bombings not as merely the end of World War II but as symbols of the arrival of the nuclear age and as a glimpse of the realities of nuclear war.

* Wallace, Mike. "The Battle of the *Enola Gay*," in *Hiroshima's Shadow*. (Stony Creek, CT: The Pamphleteer's Press, 1998.)

Questions

1. Do you feel it is significant that the Smithsonian controversy happened not too long ago (1994-95)?
2. If the Smithsonian were to attempt this exhibit again, how do you think the media and public would respond? Do you think the responses would mirror the initial responses during the controversy? Why or why not?
3. Why do you think some war veterans could not deal with such an exhibit that dramatized the horror of the atomic bombing and of nuclear war, and that often sought to pose multiple sides of an issue instead of only presenting the side supporting U.S. military action during the war?
4. Would an exhibit like the one at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, which focuses primarily on the destruction and aftermath of the atomic bombing, be accepted in the United States? Why or why not?

In groups, discuss how you would design a museum exhibit about the atomic bombing and its role in World War II. Develop a two to three-page plan. Include your thoughts on the following:

- people with whom you would consult
- scripts
- perspectives
- design and layout
- audio visual materials
- venue

Slide Script

Note: This slide script was prepared in 1976 as a joint effort by the World Friendship Center of Hiroshima and the Maine Peace Action Committee. Slide script descriptions that appear within quotation marks are English translations of the Japanese explanations that accompany each illustration. Slides and slide script were reprinted with permission from Professor Douglas Allen, University of Maine. The descriptions for slides #1 and #2 were shortened from the original.

Slide:

1. It happened on August 6, 1945, only nine days prior to the ending of the Pacific War. An atomic bomb called "Little Boy" was dropped from a B-29 American bomber, *Enola Gay*. It exploded in mid-air, about 2,000 feet above Hiroshima city.
- 2-4. Hiroshima city spreads over several deltas of the Ohta River.
5. In Hiroshima city and its suburbs, there live about 120,000 atomic bomb survivors. They feel frustrated by photographs or stories about the atomic bomb. "It was not at all like that," they say. But in the summer of 1974, the Japan Broadcasting Company's television station in Hiroshima invited survivors to draw pictures recalling memories of situations they had vividly experienced. A total of 2,300 drawings with written explanations on most of them were collected during the summers of 1974 and 1975. Taking their often crude drawings in hand, the survivors again said, "No, it was not like this. This is only one ten-thousandth of what it actually was." It would be appreciated, therefore, if each of you would help compensate for what these slides lack by using your own imagination. This drawing is the "mushroom cloud" as observed from a mountain village 20 miles north of Hiroshima. From that distance, the deathly cloud even looked beautiful, and breathtaking.
6. This hospital was just one-third of a mile from the hypocenter. When the bomb dropped, everyone "felt" the orange flash but did not hear the detonation. Countless numbers of glass pieces pierced their bodies. Yet they had the strength to escape the collapsed buildings. They did not know that 1,000 Rads of radiation had penetrated their bodies. Almost all died within three or four days.
7. One after another, the collapsed houses caught fire. Numbers of people were trapped in fallen houses and burned to death. The 71-year-old man who drew this picture was about one mile from the hypocenter and says he still cannot forget a woman's voice calling for help.
8. "I tried desperately to rescue my baby daughter, trapped inside the collapsed house, and scratched at the clay wall with my fingernails. But when I finally succeeded in opening a hole, flames had enveloped the scene...."

9. "Mother! Run! You must run away!" a child cries. But mother prays, begging for forgiveness.
10. "Somebody!" "Please help, somebody!" "Don't bother with me!" "Just the child!"
11. "The tram car that I was on was blown off the rails by the blast, and started to burn. Some managed to escape, but those left inside were burnt to death."
12. "Fleeing away from the fire in the streets, people jumped into the river."
13. "Numbers of victims lost their strength, and finally drifted into the sea."
14. "A group of 13-year-old girl high school students were working about a mile from the center, having been mobilized for public service. They were all burnt. They all moved towards the river when they heard the order 'Run! Run to the river!'"
15. "On the river bank were all sorts of people. Their clothes were all torn and burnt, and exposed their naked bodies."
16. "I dampened my clothes several times with the fire prevention water and ran crouching through the burning streets."
17. "I was injured and could barely walk. Still a woman clung to me and said, 'Give me water,' but I couldn't help her in any way. I believe that woman died very soon after."
18. "A mother was shouting her child's name in a high-pitched shrieking voice. None of the children dying around her seemed to be her child."
19. "This little girl, crouched and leaning against the stone bank of the river, passed away in this posture. No one came to save her."
20. Many people tried to cover up their faces with their hands, resulting in severe burns on the backs of their hands that the skin peeled off and hung down. The more they lowered their hands the more painful it was so they kept them lifted, resembling the posture of a ghost.
21. Due to the bomb blast, dust and fission products whirled up into the sky. Some hours later, the "black rain" fell, baptizing the citizens with a second radiation.
22. A long line formed from the burning city to the suburbs. Many became weak and died along the way.
23. One group of middle-school students were transported close to Ujina port to await rescue. But some died while waiting.
24. Those who were transported to the suburbs by truck were the lucky ones. They were practically naked and had severe injuries.
25. "Thousands died after being taken to an island in the Seto Inland Sea. There, a 'burial mound for the thousands' was temporarily erected. Two men drawn along with ropes tied around their bodies, died before reaching the island."

26. "From the nearby villages and towns, thousands of people headed for Hiroshima to extend help. From evening to night, both the living and the dead were moved to the first-aid centers."
27. "The fire extended to the fringe of the city and continued to burn all night."
28. "Morning came. Fire was still smoldering in Hiroshima. I entered the city. Many people were dead in the fire-prevention tank, their bodies scorched black. I saw a dead woman, her standing body scorched black, holding a baby in her arms, still in a running position."
29. "Unable to run away, a mother covered her child with her own body and dropped dead, scorched black."
30. "The corpse of a child with hands and fingers pointing to the sky. It was difficult to tell whether it was a boy or girl."
31. "The city seemed to have been wrapped in fire. A small fire-prevention water-tank on the streets was scorched black but those dead in the tank were swollen red."
32. "Those who escaped danger crossing the river, but died later, were brought together in one place, and after their names were determined, they were cremated. They, after all, went through fire twice."
33. "In a suburban primary school, the corpses of school children were cremated. The primary school children clasped their hands and bade farewell with a prayer."
34. A 34-year-old father had to cremate his three-year-old daughter, Hisako. He remembers "the fat burnt and melted, and the flames formed a pillar. Truly this is hell! I still don't know where my nine-year-old son is. I hope he is alive!"
35. Primary schools in the surrounding suburbs of the city became temporary first-aid centers. There were no beds or windows. Without exception, wounds had all festered.
36. "A single doctor treated several hundred fire-burnt patients. Zinc, oil, and gauze were used up immediately. Treatment was a mere application of mercurochrome. But what good did it do?"
37. Maggots swarmed on the burns. An infant crawls to an unconscious mother's breast.
38. "Two daughters found their dying mother. They fanned her to ease her agony."
39. Third-degree flesh burns were caused by radiant heat. Bandages were not available. Blood and pus formed a jelly and scabs. Maggots ate the scabs.
40. About two weeks passed. Those who had not been injured but were within a 0.8 mile radius noticed that their hair started to fall out. Half of these people later died.

41. About the same time, "purpura," also called "death spots," appeared among the victims. The capillaries were destroyed, and the blood lost its coagulation function, thus leading to blood leakage. This young boy died the following day.
42. In late September, 1945, a month and a half after the explosion, a joint research commission of the United States and Japan came into the city. In this town where all human activities had ceased, the sky remained beautiful and fair.
43. The six rivers were clear and beautiful, flowing as if nothing had happened.
44. The skeleton-red brick structure, formerly Industry Promotion Hall at the hypocenter, is called the Atomic Bomb Dome. Only a determined campaign by the Japanese peace movement prevented the destruction of this symbol of the horrors of nuclear war.
- 45-46. Today, the city of Hiroshima has been beautifully restored—perhaps too beautifully. An Italian pacifist, Danielo Dolci, remarked of the new Hiroshima: "This is testimony to the most stupid thing humans can do. The ruins should have been left as they were and not reconstructed." The lessons of Hiroshima must be conveyed to people throughout the world. Since World War II, the United States has spent \$1.3 trillion on military programs. The Soviet Union has spent an estimated \$1 trillion. A large part of these huge expenditures has been used to build ever more destructive nuclear weapons. The United States, it is estimated, now has an "overkill" capability of eight times against the entire population of the Soviet Union.
The two superpowers threaten each other with nuclear destruction. By selling to their allies, arms and arms technology in the nuclear field, they also attempt to dominate other peoples of the world, and thereby increase the potential threat of a global holocaust.
As Americans, we have special obligations to insure that there will be no more Hiroshimas and no more Vietnams that might lead to nuclear war.

"Japan's Struggle with History"

By John T. Correll, Editor in Chief

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The truth is that Imperial Japan started the war, waged it savagely and refused to surrender until the bombs fell.

According to *Washington Post* reports out of Tokyo, the Clinton Administration promised in March that plans for commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II would be toned down in deference to Japanese sensitivities. "We have assured Japan that nobody in the U.S. government or the military will use the term 'V-J Day' this year," an unidentified official said. A neutral term like "the end of the war" would be used, avoiding any reference to victory over Japan.

Back in Washington, a damage control team swung into action. A State Department spokesman assured *Air Force Magazine* that the U.S. government had "no policy to not use the phrase 'V-J Day.'" The effort to set the record straight, however, was conspicuously limp until complaints by veterans' groups forced the issue. Eventually, "administration underlings" were blamed.

This clumsy episode reminds us that World War II is still a sore subject in Japan and also that some people in this country are determined to make the memory of it as inoffensive as possible to the Japanese. Many in Japan believe their nation was a victim, not the aggressor. Conservative groups in the Japanese parliament, reflecting a position of considerable public popularity, are blocking a proposal by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama that Japan apologize for invading other Asian nations and killing millions of people.

In May 1994, Justice Minister Shigeto Nagano was dismissed after saying that the 1937 "Rape of Nanking"—where the death toll of civilians killed by Japanese troops exceeded the combined total from Hiroshima and Nagasaki—was a hoax. In August, another cabinet minister, Shin Sakurai, Director-General of the Environment Agency, was forced to resign for saying that the subjugated nations of Asia had benefited from the Japanese occupation.

In August 1994, Ryutaro Hashimoto, Minister of International Trade and Industry, declared, "I can't think that the war with the United States, England, France, and Holland was aggression."

In January 1995, a Tokyo news magazine, *Marco Polo*, was shut down after denying, in an article titled "There Were No Nazi Gas Chambers," that the Holocaust ever happened.

Popular historian Noboru Kojima says that "Japan is too eager to nervously apologize when anyone complains about the war." He questions whether, for example, the "comfort women" dragged away by Japanese soldiers were not just prostitutes.

Not everyone in Japan thinks this way. Otherwise, Ministers Nagano and Sakurai would not have been driven from office and *Marco Polo* might still be publishing. Recently, textbooks used in Japanese schools have begun to acknowledge that Japan waged a war of aggression, but the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor gets only passing mention.

On this and other aspects of war, Japan remains in denial mode. Former Cabinet Minister Seisuke Okuno, who heads a group of 161 members of parliament opposing the resolution of apology, says that if anybody owes somebody an apology for World War II conduct, it is the United States. In March 1995, Nagasaki Mayor Hitoshi Motoshima declared the U.S. use of the atomic bomb in 1945 to have been a war crime on a par with Germany's program of genocide against the Jews. "I think that the atomic bombings were one of the two greatest crimes against humanity in the twentieth century, along with the Holocaust," he said.

Mayor Motoshima has been upset ever since the Smithsonian Institution canceled an exhibition that would have used the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, as a prop in a political horror show. As originally planned, the exhibition portrayed the Japanese as defending their culture against Western imperialism in a war that culminated, needlessly, in the use of atomic weapons. Mayor Motoshima and his colleagues in Nagasaki want to bring an atomic bomb exhibit of their own to the United States to do the job that the Smithsonian has dropped. Such a program will be welcome, no

doubt, as part of the "National Teach-In on Hiroshima" that academic activists are trying to organize at U.S. colleges and universities.

The tragedy of the war did not begin when bombs fell on Japan. It started with Japan's campaign of conquest and atrocity to establish a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The U.S. entered the war when attacked without warning at Pearl Harbor. Ultimately, the war Japan started spread devastation throughout Asia and most of the Pacific. By 1945, Japan had no hope of winning but refused to surrender. Between April 1 and June 30, the U.S. took 48,000 casualties in the battle of Okinawa alone. To hold the home islands and preserve the imperial regime, Japan was prepared to expend a force of 3.5 million troops, thousands of kamikaze aircraft, and a mobilized population. In making his decision to use the atomic bomb, President Truman considered the probable losses if an invasion led to "an Okinawa from one end of Japan to the other." The mission of the *Enola Gay* on August 6 was a military action taken to bring the war to an end.

World War II does not call for neutral interpretation. There was a right side and a wrong side. The right side won. That is what we remember this anniversary year—no conciliatory adjustments are required—on V-E Day, May 9, and on V-J Day, August 15.

For Discussion:

1. Compare John T. Correll's perspectives with those presented in the slide script.
2. Are they differing on crucial facts, on issues of interpretation, or on both sets of matters?
3. Why does John T. Correll feel the atomic bombs were necessary?
4. Do you agree or disagree with Mayor Motoshima's declaration that the U.S. use of the atomic bomb in 1945 was a war crime on par with Germany's program of genocide against the Jews? What is the criterion for a war crime, and how should guilt be determined? Might the mayor's conclusion be different if the two atomic bombs had been dropped on purely military targets, for example, an army base or naval fleet?
5. What are your thoughts on who the victims and aggressors were during World War II and who (the United States or Japan), if any, should apologize? In your thinking, does it matter that most people alive now were not yet born during World War II? Is there any moral "statute of limitations" on apologies? On possible reparations, even to those injured in World War II?

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Glossary

Black rain—fallout, minute particles of radioactive debris in the atmosphere following a nuclear explosion, were thrown into the air forming a black cloud. Radioactive particles mixed with cooling water vapor and resulted in a heavily radioactive, sticky, black rain

Enola Gay—the name of the B-29 bomber plane used to deliver and drop an atomic bomb (a uranium weapon) on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945

Fat Man—the name given to the atomic bomb (a plutonium weapon) dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945

Hypocenter—the location on the ground vertically below the air burst point of an atomic bomb

In utero—while in a mother's womb

Keloid—a heavy, raised, potentially disfiguring scar

Little Boy—the name given to the atomic bomb (a uranium weapon) dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945

Microcephalitis—a condition that slows brain growth, causing mental retardation

Japanese terms used in the module:

Ba-san—grandmother; old lady

Eraiyo—heavy, awful

Hibakusha—all people, dead or alive, who were exposed to the Hiroshima or Nagasaki atomic bombings

Kamikaze pilots—Japanese pilots who deliberately crashed their explosive-laden planes into American warships

Obi—a long belt or sash worn with a kimono

Pika—literally means "shiny" or "glowing" but used in text to refer to or symbolize the atomic bombing

Pika babies—babies exposed to radioactivity in utero (while in mothers' wombs)

Seizonsha—a survivor

Shimbun—newspaper